Deo duce libro comitante.

MEMOIRS OF

NANA FURNAWEES

J. BROTHERS.

Registered under act XXV. of 1867.

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE
ANGLO-VERNACULAR PRESS.
1885.

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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.
No: 253.
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NANA FURNAWEES.

—BY—

J. BROTHERS.

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Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE

ANGLO-VERNACULAR PRESS, TWO TANKS.

1885.

TO

HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA

SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAR

Sena Khas khel Shumser Bahadur
Farsand-i-khas-i-Dowlat-i-
Englishia,

MAHARAJA OF BARODA.

This humble attempt at the diffusion of Biographical Sketches of Indian historical celebretics

IS

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in recognition of the encouragement given to the culture of Marathi and English literature in his dominion and the disinterested zeal evinced in the welfare of his subjects,

BY

The Compilers.

PREFACE.

In these days when Politics so largely occupy the public attention, and a taste for the study of them has been awakened amongst the Indian public, we, thinking that the memoirs of Nana Furnawees, one of the most eminent statesmen of India, who played a very important part in the Politics of India, and constantly endeavoured to thwart the British officers who were then struggling for the establishment of British power in Western India would be interesting, set ourselves to collect the materials for such memoirs from such able works as Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Marshman's History of India, Meadows Taylor's History of India, and other works from which we could obtain reliable information on the subject, and now offer to the public the humble result of our labours.

We make no pretensions to originality, and shall consider ourselves to be amply rewarded if the portrait we have presented is accepted by an indulgent public, despite the faults which may be found in it, as a faithful representation of the real character, life, and the motives which actuated the policy, of that great statesman.

We beg to offer our best thanks to Mr. Harischandra Sadashiva Nayak B. A. of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, who has rendered us considerable assistance in this work.

The Compilers.

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.
No: 253.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF

BALAJI JANARDHAN BHANU

OTHERWISE KNOWN AS

NANA FURNAWEES.

NANA FURNAWEES was born in the city of Sattara on Friday the fourth day of May A. D. 1741. His father Janardhan Bulhar Bhanu at that time held the office of Furnawees (Deputy Auditor and Accountant) under Balaji Bajirao Peishwa. His mother Ruckmabai belonged to the ancient and noble family of Mhaindlee. The earlier period of Nana's life does not appear to have been marked by any event of importance save that he was married at an early age of ten years to Yeshwadabai, the daughter of Sadashew Raghunath Gudray. It was after the death of his father which took place about the year 1756, when he was invested with the hereditary office of Furnawees, that his genius became conspicuous, and attracted the notice of the Peishwa whom he served and of the public; and in course of time he became so far distinguished for his sagacity, his penetration, his far-sightedness and wisdom, that he came to be ranked as one of the wise men who adorned the court of the Peishwa.

The Peishwa Balaji Bajirao, who had conceived a great liking for the young Furnawees, took him on a journey to Seringapatam. On his return, Nana had a son born to him who, however, died within a few months after his birth. This circumstance affected Nana's tender heart considerably, and he repaired to the banks of the Godavari to perform

some religious ceremony with his friend Sadashewrao Bhow. At this time events occurred which brought him into closer connection with the Peishwa, and contributed in no small degree to lay the foundation of his future greatness. The Peishwa had in that year sent a large army to subdue the Afghans, who had advanced beyond the Attock, and the army having been defeated, Sadashewrao Bhow, the commander of the Mahratta forces, applied to the Peishwa for permission once more to take the field against the Afghans, and drive them back across the Attock.

Naturally of a bold and unbending spirit, the success he had previously obtained in small battles, had so far flushed his brain as to have made him insensible to the real dangers of war, and to the dictates of experience and prudence; and the spirit of military enthusiasm with which he was inspired, inexperienced as he was in military tactics, prompted him to give full assurances to the Peishwa, and induce him to make campaign against the Afghans; and he also succeeded in inducing the Sindia, Holkar, and other chiefs to lend him assistance with their armies. Accordingly, the Deccan army consisting of 20,000 chosen horse, 10,000 artillery, besides infantry, was equipped under the command of Ibrahim Khan Gardee to accompany Sadashewrao. On no previous occasion had the Mahratta army been equipped on so grand a scale. The magnificent tents, vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses magnificently caparisoned, and all the other accompaniments of an Indian army collected from all quarters, gave an imposing grandeur to Bhow's camp.

The principal officers with the Bhow's division were Bulwantrao Gunput Mhaindlee, Shumsheer Bahadur, Naroo Shunker (Raja Bahadur), Withal Shewdev (Vinchoorkar), Trimbuk Sadashew Parandhare with many other chiefs, or connections of

old Mahratta families. A large army remained with Balajirao, but orders were despatched to all the Mahratta commanders to join the army under Sadashewrao Bhow, as he advanced towards the Moghal capital. Accordingly before he crossed the Chumbal Mulharrao Holkar, Junkoji Sindia, Damaji Gaekwar, Juswantrao Powar, Appaji Athowlay, Antoji Mankeshwar, Govindpunt Boondlay, and many others of less note, joined with their troops. Most of the Rajput chieftains also sent parties of their horse; and great numbers of Pindarees and irregulars of all descriptions joined the increasing host. Suraj Mull Raja of Bhuratpur, also under the influence of Holkar, joined the army with 30,000 men.

The experienced Jaut Chieftain, Suraj Mull, perceived that the unwieldy assemblage under the Bhow clogged with a cumbersome artillery, and suiting their movements to those of an attendant body of infantry, were ill-adapted to the purpose of the war. He proposed therefore that the families and heavy equipments should be left either in Gwalior or Jhansee, or under the protection of some of their own forts, whilst the Mahratta horse and his own could cut off the supplies, and by constant skirmishing oblige the Mahomedan force to withdraw, and compel the Abdalee to retreat. This proposal though it met with the approval of Holkar and others, was treated with scorn by Sadashewrao, who felt an antipathy towards Holkar, and had imbibed a prejudice against Suraj Mull. Common report had spread accounts of wonders performed by Europeans; Sadashewrao had himself witnessed the effects of French discipline and artillery; he had gained great advantages by the employment of Ibrahim Khan, and he haughtily contemned the only advice that might have ensured success. The army proceeded to Delhi, and at once attempted the citadel. A party of the Mahrattas clambered up one of the towers, and got inside, whilst the main body was assaulting the

gate way, and the besieged were busy in defending it; but the Mahrattas who had effected their entrance without ever thinking of opening the gates to keep possession of the place, began to plunder for some time without interruption; but at last being discovered, the whole body as helpless as an unarmed mob, were driven out by about twelve men. The assault was therefore deferred, batteries were opened, and in a short time the fort capitulated.

The Bhow on achieving this success, proposed that Wishwasrao should be placed on the throne, and that Sujah-ud-Dowlah should be appointed his Vazir or minister. As the Jumna was unfordable, he cantoned his army at Delhi; where his innumerable followers consumed everything in the neighbourhood. All articles of provisions and supplies became scarce, but the first difficulty felt by Bhow was the want of treasure. In this respect however he was more provident than in others. He had brought two crores of rupees from Deccan, and Holkar, Sindia, Govindpunt Boondlay, and the Rajputs furnished three crores more, but the prospect of want of funds induced Sadashiwrao to seize the gold and silver ornaments of the Imperial Audience Chamber and destroy the throne, from all which he procured the sum of seventeen lakhs of rupees only. Holkar and Suraj Mull strongly remonstrated against such an act being committed, which they considered to be both impolitic and indecorous, but Sadashewrao treated their remonstrances with scorn. The result was that Suraj Mull with his whole force left the army in disgust, and the Rajputs at the instigation of some of their friends also withdrew from the allied forces. In the meantime Ahmed Shah Abdalee whose camp was opposite to Ano Shuhur on the Ganges, had through Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah prevailed upon Sujah-ud-Dowlah to make common cause with Mussalmans against the Hindoos; but Sadashewrao believing that Sujah-ud-Dowlah had no natural aversion towards the Mahrattas,

endeavoured to conciliate him, and prevent the alliance being made between him and the Mussalmans. Accordingly, he opened a private communication with Sujah-ud-Dowlah, and also carried on through him negotiations for peace with the Abdalee which lasted for several months. Sujah-ud-Dowlah, however, secretly informed his allies of all the communications made to him by Bhow, and made his replies to such communications at their dictation.

As the violence of the monsoon abated, Sadashewrao raised Mirza Jawan Bakht, the son of the absent Shah Allam to the throne of Delhi, and proclaimed Sujah-ud-Dowlah, viceroy of Oudh, to the office of Vazir. He then proceeded in person to Kunjpoora, a fortified town strongly garrisoned, which he breached and stormed, and left Naroo Shunkar with a garrison in the citadel. Ahmed Shah had been desirous of relieving this post, but the Jumna was not yet fordable. He however moved his camp to the bank of the river, and privately sent out a party of his men to find out if there was a ford at some other point on the bank of the river. In the meantime he endeavoured to beguile the Bhow's men who had been kept to watch his movements by opening negotiations of peace with them. A ford was discovered about 20 miles above Delhi, and thither he marched and crossed the river, 25th October, before Bhow Saheb could obtain any reliable intelligence of it. Shortly afterwards skirmishes between the armies commenced.

The Mahrattas had 56,000 horse, 15,000 foot and 300 pieces of cannon; the irregular troops on both sides were also very numerous. On the 26th of October the advanced guards of the two armies had a severe engagement, and both parties claimed the advantage. The Mahrattas intended to attack the next day, but Holkar was still anxious to adopt the predatory plan, and attempted to cut off their supplies. Ibrahim Khan however remonstrated against such a step being taken. These dissensions were with some

difficulty suppressed; and Sadashewrao moved with his whole army to Paniput, the great battle field of India since the age of the Mahabharat, and where its fate had frequently been decided, and threw a wide ditch and rampart round the camp, the town being in the centre of his position. Ahmed Shah also intrenched himself at a short distance; and thus the parties lay watching the movements of each other for two months. Scarcely however a day passed without severe conflicts, with varied advantage on either side. But provision ran short in the Mahratta camp, and as no supplies arrived, the officers and men could endure the privation no longer. On 6th January 1761, they implored to be led against the enemy, and Sadashewrao having no other resource, gave orders for the battle to be commenced. At the same time he entrusted to Holkar the charge of his own wife, as also of the families of the several principal officers who accompanied him, amongst whom was that of Nana Furnawees. His reasons for so doing were probably because Mulharrao Holkar was the only chief who was likely to find favour with the unrelenting Nujeeb-ud-Dowla, by whose counsel Ahmed Shah was greatly swayed; and Holkar was therefore the only person whose influence was likely to ensure their protection. Next morning, before daybreak, the Mahrattas were in motion, and formed their lines regularly. Ahmed Shah, whose personal activity had been surprising, had just fallen asleep in the tent, but he was already dressed, and mounting his horse proceeded to reconnoitre. A glance shewed him that an action was unavoidable, and his army took up their several positions.

Nana Furnawees was present during the engagement, but was uninjured. Many balls fell in the camp where the families were located, which frightened them exceedingly. Amongst them was Nana Furnawee's mother, and seeing her tremble Nana

told her to trust in God who would preserve her from all harm.

The details of the great battle given at length by Elphinstone and other historians are more than usually interesting, and need not be repeated here; suffice it to say, that after an obstinate fight, and varying fortune, King Ahmed Shah at length, watching his opportunity, directed charges of bodies of 10,000 cavalry to be made in succession at a gallop on the Mahratta centre. They proved successful, and the Mahrattas fighting desperately finally broke and fled, being pursued with a vast carnage. A large number of the Mahrattas was taken prisoners, of whom the women and children were made slaves, while the males were cruelly butchered in cold blood. Wishwasrao and many other chiefs were slain, and the body believed to be that of Sadashewrao, was afterwards found among the heaps of the dead.

The Peishwa had moved up to the Nerbudda in support in November, but while in his anxiety for news, and fears that disaster might occur, he was crossing the Nerbudda in January, he received intelligence of the defeat of the Mahrattas, from a communication addressed by a banker to his correspondent in the following terms:—"Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up." From these words he fully comprehended the fate of Sadashewrao, Wishwasrao, and the other officers and of the army generally. A confirmation of this distressing intelligence, was soon brought by the fugitives from the army to the Peishwa. Among them was Nana Furnawees; his mother was captured by the Afghans, but his wife escaped, as also did Parvutteebai, widow of the unfortunate Bhow. The Peishwa never recovered from the shock; he slowly retreated to Poona, but his faculties were much impaired; a rapid decay of his constitution ensued, and he expired in the month of

June at the temple of Parvuttee, a conspicuous building erected by him on a hill at the Southern environs of the city of Poona.

To revert to Nana Furnawees. Early in the morning of the day the battle took place, he was advised to seek safety by flight, but he refused to do so, saying that it was not honourable to desert his friend at such a critical juncture; but at about five o'clock in the evening, finding that Bhow Saheb had disappeared, he turned his horse from the field, and reached the village of Paniput, which he found already crowded with fugitives. As he was totally unacquainted with the country, he had to give up the idea of proceeding further. Fortunately for him, he met a Brahmin by name Rannojeepunt, who strongly advised him to dismount from his horse, and disguise himself which he said was his only chance of escape. Accordingly Nana divested himself of all his clothes and accoutrements, and tied a small cloth round his loins, and at nightfall proceeded in a westerly direction under the guidance of the said Brahmin, accompanied by a few followers, who had also stripped themselves of all their clothes and dressed like him, to make it appear that they were simply travellers, and were not connected with the Mahratta army. They had hardly travelled about two miles from Paniput, when they were attacked by a party of the enemy who detained and searched them; but although in the scuffle some of Nana's followers were killed, Nana and his Brahmin guide escaped unhurt. They proceeded onwards about twenty-five miles further, when they were again attacked by another party, who not only slaughtered his remaining followers, but also his Brahmin guide: Nana alone was saved by concealing himself in the long grass close by.

After lying hidden for a considerable time, and seeing no traces of the enemy, he proceeded on his way all alone. Although he had been totally un-

used to pedestrian exercise from childhood, still under the influence of his fears he walked some thirty-five miles without stopping or even obtaining a morsel of food. On the following day, he could find nothing to satisfy his hunger on his way, and contented himself with chewing leaves of trees. In the evening, after having travelled for a considerable distance, he reached an entrance of a village where he found a Gossain's hut. He entered it, and was treated very kindly by the owner, who gave him food. Nana rested there during the night, and at daybreak proceeded on his journey. After travelling some distance, he came to another village, where he was hospitably entertained by a merchant who on finding out who the traveller was, introduced him to one Yeshwuntrao, and arranged with him to escort Nana to Poona. The merchant however, was informed that some of the enemy's troops were about the village, and he therefore proposed to forward Nana in his own vehicle as far as Jeynuggur. Accordingly, Nana started for the place, but on the road suspecting that some treachery might have been intended, he left the vehicle, and proceeded on foot until he reached the village of Ramwari. One Ramjidas a rich man of that village, entertained Nana very hospitably, and induced him to stay at his house for a week. Nana consented, and towards the end of the week expressed his desire of proceeding to Deeg. His host however, would not allow him to proceed until provided with a trustworthy escort. In a few days, Ramjeedas having learnt that a party of respectable persons was about to proceed to Deeg on account of a marriage, he sent Nana along with them in his own carriage. On his way Nana happened to fall in with an acquaintance who informed him that his wife had been safely conveyed to a place of safety called Jignee by one Verojeerao Jarounker, and was there living under the protection of her uncle Naroopunt Gokla. On receiving

these joyous tidings Nana immediately proceeded to Jignee, where he was received with great joy, especially as he had escaped the horrible carnage which followed the fatal battle of Paniput.

After resting there for a few days, and thoroughly recruiting his strength, Nana proceeded with his wife to Deeg. At that place, he fell in with an old friend by name Mahadev Purshotum, who had also managed to escape from Paniput, and who prevailed upon Nana, to stay there for about a month, after which Nana again proceeded on his journey. On his way he came across a follower of his mother who informed him of her decease; this news affected him to such a degree that he determined to abjure the world, and wend his way to Benares, but was prevailed upon by his friends to abandon that idea, and return home to perform his mother's obsequies. On arriving at Burhanpore, he met the Peishwa, who had halted there on hearing the sad news of the defeat of his army at Paniput. The Peishwa was delighted to see Nana alive, and received him with the greatest kindness. Nana related to him all that had occurred at the field of battle, and such a deep attachment sprung up between them, that the Peishwa never felt happy except in his presence. A few days after Nana's arrival at Burhanpore the Peishwa determined on proceeding to Poona. Nana's wife being however in a delicate state of health, she could not proceed on the journey, and Nana accordingly obtained the Peishwa's permission to stay a little while longer on the banks of the Nerbudda to enable her to recruit her health. Shortly after the Peishwa had reached Poona, he found his health declining so rapidly that he wrote several letters to Nana, pressing him to join him without delay, as he felt he had not long to live. Nana accordingly started for Poona at once, and had reached Parnera, when he was informed of the Peishwa's death at Parvatti. Nana's grief at such a sad loss was intense, and after

his arrival at Poona for some time lived in close retirement.

In the month of September following, Raghunathrao determined to take Madhoorao the second son of the late Peishwa to Sattara for the purpose of having him invested in his father's room, and invited Nana Furnawees to accompany them. Nana at first refused, as he considered himself merely as a servant of the Peishwas, and having no relation to the Raja of Sattara He was, however, prevailed upon to go, and having been present at the investiture he returned with Madhoorao to Poona.

From this period up to the latter end of 1762, Nana appears to have done nothing worthy of note. About that time disputes arose between Madhoorao and his uncle on account of the former desiring a place in the administration. Nana Furnawees was appointed along with Hurrypunt Phurkay, a personal carcoon of Madhoorao, and this selection was considered to be very satisfactory and creditable. Nana continued in this situation till the following year, when in consequence of a treaty concluded with the Nizam, the fort of Merich was returned to Gopalrao Pahourdhan, and Nana was duly confirmed in the appointment of Furnawees, which had been temporarily held by the former. Subsequently to this period, until the year 1769, we hear little of him ; at that time he appears siding with Mahadaji Sindia, who at the death of his nephew had laid claim to the family Jahagir, and although the arrangement was distastful to his master, still his influence was so great, that the point was carried, and ever after he was held in great esteem by Mahadji Sindia.

The young Peishwa, Madhoorao, little inferior to any of his race in the cabinet or in the field, died of consumption on the 18th of November 1772, leaving no issue surviving him, and his brother Narayanrao was then invested as Peishwa. Under him the great

genius of Nana found vast scope to develop itself. He exhibited a remarkable facility in getting through business and was duly recognized in his appointment and was in great favour with the Peishwa. On the 30th August 1773, Narayanrao was murdered. The following is a brief account of the horrible deed which terminated his earthly career. It appears that on the morning of that day the Peishwa observed unusual agitation among his troops, and he thereupon before going to take his meal told Hurrypunt Phurkay to take precautions in case of disturbance, meaning that he should secure the palace. Hurrypunt, however, thoughtlessly neglected these orders, and went to dine with a friend in the neighbourhood. The Peishwa, in the afternoon, had retired to repose in his private apartments, when he was awakened by a great tumult in the palace, caused by a large body of infantry, who, led by Somer Sing and Mahomed Yeesoof, burst by an obscure entrance into the palace, under pretence of demanding arrears of pay. Khurrak Sing one of their number who had commanded at the palace guard, joined them. Narayanrao, starting from sleep, resolved neither to conceal nor defend himself, but ran to his uncle's apartments, and being closely pursued by Somer Sing, he threw himself into his uncle's arms, entreating that he would save him. Raghunathrao did interfere, and begged of them to spare him. "I have not gone thus far to ensure my own destruction," replied Somer Sing; "let him go, or you shall die with him." Raghunathrao disengaged himself, and got out upon the terrace; Narayanrao attempted to follow him, but Trulcea Powar, one of the Maharatta domestics of Raghunathrao, who was armed, seized him by the legs, and pulled him down, at which instant another domestic named Chapaji Teleekur, in the service of Narayanrao, entered the apartment, and, although unarmed, ran forward to his master, who clasped his arms round his neck, when Somer Sing and Trulcea

Powar despatched them both with their swords. The conspirators secured the whole of the outer wall of the palace whilst this was passing in the interior; the people ran to and fro in consternation, armed men thronged in the streets, asking what had happened Raghunathrao was suspected, but there was no proof of his being the author of the outrage. Ram Shastree one of the most respectable and upright of the ministers, instituted a minute and diligent enquiry into the matter, and about six weeks after the event, having obtained sufficient proofs to bring the charge home to him, the Shastree waited upon him, and accused him of having given an authority to Somer Sing and Mohomed Yeesoof to commit the deed. Raghunathrao confessed that he had signed the order to seize the person of his nephew, but denied having in any degree sanctioned his death. This admission is generally supposed to have been literally true; for by the original paper afterwards recovered by the undaunted and virtuous Ram Shastree, it was found that the word *Dhurawè*, to seize, was altered to *Marawè*, to kill. It is believed that the alteration was made by the infamous Anundeebai, the wife of Raghunathrao; and Raghunathrao's own conduct in subsequently withholding protection at the critical time even at the hazard of his life, sufficiently justifies the suspicion of his being fully aware of it.

Soon after Narayanrao's murder his uncle Raghunathrao, seized the throne of Peishwa, to which he had, as above mentioned, cleared his way. He was, however, not destined to enjoy it long and peaceably. Immediately after he was invested with the office, he led an army against Nizam Ali. During his absence, Nana Furnawees and his cousin Moroba, Succaram Bapoo, Trimbuckrao Mama, Raghoba Pufundare, Anundrao Jewajee, and Hurrypunt Phurkay, entered into a combination for the purpose of setting up another claimant to the Peishwa's office in

opposition to Raghunathrao. Shortly after Narayanrao's death it was reported that his widow Gungabai was in a state of pregnancy, and it was resolved in the event of her giving birth to a male child, to place him upon the throne of the Peishwa. She was accordingly on the 30th January 1774 taken to the fort of Purandhar by Nana Furnawees and Hurrypunt Phurkay under pretence of being put in a place of safety, but their real motive, as is generally believed, was to afford facilities for exchanging the infant of Gungabai, in the event of its proving a female, with another male child; and with this view a number of Brahmin women, in a state of pregnancy were conveyed to the fort with her. Parvutteebai the widow of Sadashewrao Bhow, a lady very much respected, also accompanied her. The ministers forming themselves into a sort of regency began to govern the country in her name. All the adherents of Raghunathrao were thrown into prison, and negotiations were opened with Nizam Ali and Sabajee Bhonslay, both of whom agreed to support the widow's pretensions. Intrigues managed by Krishnarao Bulwant in the camp of Raghunathrao were ready to burst forth in general revolt, the moment that a signal was received from the confederates at Poona.

Raghunathrao meanwhile was successful in his warlike enterprises, but at last his affairs reached a crisis by the birth of Madhoorao Narayan on the 18th April, 1774, which gave a fatal blow to his assumed dignity. Notwithstanding the suspicion created by the scheme which was adopted for eventually imposing upon the country, there is very little doubt but that the child was the son of the murdered Narayanrao. Succaram Bapoo and Nana Furnawees were deputed by Gungabai to receive the clothes of investiture for her son, which were sent from Sattara by the Raja in charge of Madhoorao Nilkunt Purandhare, and the infant was duly in-

stalled as Peishwa, when he was only forty days old. The ministers, however, became jealous of each other. Nana Furnawees was too cautious a person to take the lead in an infant Government, but like the generality of men who have risen by revolution, and who seldom appear in the foreground, he supported Succaram Bapoo as a person likely to have most weight and consideration with the public. This conduct of his proceeded as much from timidity as design. Succaram was an old, cautious, time-serving courtier, but he was a man of greater courage than Nana Furnawees, and, in the humble and assiduous attention of his colleague and adherent, he did not foresee a future rival and a powerful foe. Such, indeed, was the influence of Succaram Bapoo, that his secession from the cause of the ministers, which Nana often apprehended, would have ruined them. One circumstance not generally known, which was used by Nana as an instrument of his ambition, was the power he had acquired over Gungabai ; for although a profound secret at the time, the young widow was deeply enamoured of Nana Furnawees, and was taught by him the best means of managing the old minister.

Moroba the cousin of Nana Furnawees, who had ostensibly been the prime minister of Madhoorao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to him, and would have readily returned to Raghunathrao, if he could have done so with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Succaram and Nana, were soon united in common discontent. There was thus a division amongst them ; the disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence on the part of Moroba, Raghoba and Babajee Naik with the Ex-Peishwa. It appeared from the letters that had been intercepted by Hurrypunt, that these three persons had found a plan for securing the persons of Succaram Bapoo,

Nana Furnawees, Gungabai and her infant son; all of whom, in consequence of the chilling cold experienced in hill-forts during the rains, had come down from Purandhar to reside in the neighbouring village of Sassoor; but on receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, they instantly betook themselves to the fort, where they remained during the early part of 1775, Succaram Bapoo and Nana Furnawees carrying on the affairs of the state

In the meantime Raghoba was endeavouring to conclude a negotiation with the English as also one with Govindrao Gaekwar, which treaty was concluded and signed on the 6th March 1775. At this time the state of the young Peishwa's affairs wore a very unpromising aspect owing to Raghoba's successes. Both Succaram Bapoo and Nana Furnawees were much disheartened, and dreaded the consequences which generally follow disaster in India by the defections of allies; and although, whilst Raghunathrao was a fugitive in Guzerat he had solicited and obtained through Nana Furnawees from the young Peishwa a confirmation of the rights and honours of Sena Saheb Subha for his son Raghoji, together with such privileges for himself as pertained to the guardianship, yet the ministers were apprehensive that the rising fortunes of Raghoba would ensure him the support of the Raja of Berar. Nizam Ali also caused the ministers great uneasiness by pretending to doubt the legitimacy of Madhoorao Narayan, the young Peishwa; many of the Mahratta chiefs also being desirous of shaking off the Brahmin ministry, occasioned a revolution in the opinions of many, and an anxiety in the minds of all; but fortunately on the 3rd February 1775, the supreme Council of Bengal, who had taken upon themselves the power of general administration of the affairs of British India, addressed a letter to the Bombay Government completely condemning the measures taken by them, in concluding a treaty with Ragho-

ba, which they declared to be invalid, and said the Mahratta war was impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust, and peremptorily required them to withdraw their forces within their own garrisons in whatever state their affairs might be, unless their safety should be endangered by an instant retreat. The Governor-General in Council also intimated their intention of sending an agent of their own to open a negotiation with the ruling party of the Mahratta State. Although the Bombay Government was opposed to this measure, the Supreme Government still adhered to their determination, and Lieut.-Col. John Upton was selected as Envoy Plenipotentiary, and instructed to repair to Poona, and conclude a treaty between the Mahratta State and the Bombay Government. This precipitate interference on the part of the Governor-General and Council, tended immediately to strengthen the hands of the ministers at Purandhar, and it ultimately cemented the tottering confederacy of the Mahrattas under the administration of Nana Furnawees.

Colonel Upton arrived at Purandhar on the 2nd December 1775. In the meanwhile the Governor-General had written to Succaram Bapoo, stating that the war had been waged without his authority, and that he had issued orders for the suspension of hostilities, and requested the ministers would do the same; and intimated his intention of sending an envoy to negotiate a peace. The ministers soon perceived the advantage thus placed in their hands, and as Brahmins in politics misconstrue moderation, and attribute concession solely to fear, they assumed a high tone of demand and menace, which Colonel Upton believed to be firm and sincere. Colonel Upton did not at first understand Mahratta Brahmins, and in Saccaram Bapoo, the acting agent, and Nana Furnawees, the minister for Political affairs, he had to encounter two of the ablest men that had ever been in office. Colonel Upton's correspondence

bears ample testimony of sincerity and moderation, but he was ill-qualified to conclude a negotiation with Mahratta Brahmins. Finding after a considerable deal of negotiation, that he could not bring the ministers to favourable terms, he expressed his opinion to the Governor General by a letter dated 7th February, who thereupon determined to support the cause of Raghoba with the utmost vigour. The ministers, however, almost immediately after they had carried their menaces to the utmost pitch, acceded at once to the greatest part of Col. Upton's original demands, and before accounts had time to reach Calcutta that the negotiations had been broken off, the treaty of Purandhar was settled on the 1st March 1776, by Colonel Upton on the part of the Company's Government, and Succaram Bapoo and Nana Furnawees, on that of the Peishwa's; but the name of the Peishwa was omitted, the title of Rao Pundit Purdhan being only mentioned in the treaty. It was supposed that the omission of the name Madhoorao Narayan, was most likely a precaution, as in case of the child's death, it was probably their intention to get Gungabai to adopt a son. In consequence of this treaty, that between the Bombay Government and Raghoba was formally annulled. The English troops were to return to their garrisons, and the army of Raghoba to be disbanded within a month; a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all followers of Raghoba, four only excepted, whom the ministers knew to be particularly implicated in the murder of Narayanrao. If Raghunathrao should refuse to disband his army, the English agreed not to assist him except on condition of his assenting to the prescribed terms. The Peishwa and his ministers consented to allow him two hundred domestics to be chosen by himself, one thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand rupees monthly for his other expenses, but his residence was fixed at Khopergaum on the Godavery; the treaties of 1739,

and 1756, and all other agreements not suspended or dissolved by the present articles, were confirmed.

In 1777, Gungabai, the young Peishwa's mother died. She caused her own death by having taken some drug for the purpose of concealing the consequence of her illicit intercourse with Nana Furnawees. (This the family deny, but the personal likeness between Nana and the young Peishwa hardly leaves room for doubt.) About this time an adventurer named St. Lubin who declared himself to be an envoy of the King of France having landed at Choul arrived at Poona, and with a view to obtain the cession of the Port of Choul with the Port of Revdunda, offered to the Mahratta ministers a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, and to bring 2,500 Europeans to support the ministry, to raise and discipline 10,000 sepoys, and furnish an abundance of military and marine stores. He affected the utmost horror at the conduct of the English in supporting Raghoba. A painting had been executed under his directions in France to represent the barbarous murder of Narayanrao,—in which it was said by some (as above mentioned) that Raghunathrao was concerned. He exhibited the picture himself before the Durbar in a burst of grief, which brought tears into the eyes of some of the spectators, whilst in others it excited ridicule and contempt. A cheat in the character of a European gentleman was new to the Mahrattas, but the discernment of Nana Furnawees was too shrewd and penetrating to have been even temporarily imposed upon by such an artifice. He yet imagined he could use this new element to serve his purposes with the English. He affected to give great encouragement to St. Lubin, and offered petty indignities to the British envoy, with no other object than to excite the jealousy of the English, but he was not aware of the dangerous nature of the experiment which he was venturing upon.

Nana Furnawees was inimical to all Europeans; but the despicable conduct of St. Lubin, must have tended to lower the French nation both in his estimation and that of the Mahrattas in general. M. Botts originally in the company's service in Bengal, who was at Poona at that time, as an avowed agent of the house of Austria, received no such civilities. Nana probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool; and M. Botts who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character.

The credulity which prevailed on the continent of Europe regarding India, and, joined to this, an uncommon plausibility of address had enabled St. Lubin to impose on several young men whom he persuaded to embark with him in the enterprise; but unprincipled men however superior they may fancy themselves to be, frequently have foibles which speedily discover their true character; and those of St. Lubin's seemed to have been egregious vanity and excessive irritability of temper; the latter being one of the worst failings that a person engaged in political negotiations with natives could possibly have. Most of his companions became estranged from him. Suspicion soon brought on altercation, and St. Lubin would have most probably murdered them had they not sought protection of Mr. Mostyn, a member of the Bombay Civil Service.

The encouragement given by Nana Furnawees to St. Lubin might have had the effect of alarming the Bombay Government, and inducing them to accept the stipulations of the treaty of Purandhar under the disadvantages which the minister would have imposed, had they not been uniformly supported by the Court of Directors, who authorised them to make an alliance with Raghoba, should not the conditions of the treaty, be fulfilled by the ministers.

In the meantime dissensions among the parties at Poona continued to increase. Nana Furnawees des-

pised the abilities of his cousin, but with a Brahmin's caution he was at more pains to conceal his contempt than his enmity. Moroba was supported by a strong party. The English envoy attributed the confidence he could perceive in Nana to an assurance of support from France. Immediately after the death of Gungabái, Succaram Bapoo began to be jealous of his hitherto humble colleague, and united though cautiously, in a plan for the restoration of Raghoba. Moroba made the proposal to the Bombay Government, and requested that the Government would immediately bring Raghoba to Poona. Preparations were accordingly commenced, and the President and council determined to afford their assistance without delay. But although the Bombay Government agreed to aid the scheme of Moroba, it was with a proviso that Succaram Bapoo (the principal authority in signing the treaty of Purandhar) should state in writing that the invitation was made at his desire. This decided declaration, Succaram unfortunately for himself refused, and the plan was in consequence suspended, but it was the deliberate opinion of the Bombay Government that their own safety depended on their effecting a change in the Poona administration. The complex political machine which Nana Furnawees managed on this emergency with consummate artifice, was at first a little deranged by a premature attempt to apprehend Moroba, who made his escape from Poona. This exposure would have disconcerted most men, but Nana, through Succaram Bapoo, persuaded his cousin to return, and it was proposed that a new ministry should be formed, including Moroba and Bajaba Purandhare; but Bajaba was not so easily persuaded, and Succaram nobly declared that nothing should ever induce him to abjure the cause of a generous master who had been his protector from youth to manhood; that Raghunathrao was a soldier; and Nana, a cunning, cowardly courtier.

Moroba's party by the aid of Holkar's troops, obtained the complete ascendancy; and Nana, who was obliged to retire to Purandhar, pretended to acquiesce in the plan for conducting Raghoba to Poona, on condition of obtaining security for himself and property. The Bombay Government again received notice to prepare, and a detachment of 6 Native regiments with a proportion of Artillery and Cavalry were directed to assemble at Kalpi on the Jumna under Colonel Leslie; but the weak Moroba imagined that he had attained his object, and fancied himself at the head of the administration. Nana affected his usual deference for Succaram's opinion, and was scrupulously respectful to his cousin. Consultations took place respecting the restoration of Raghoba (Raghunathrao) and Moroba bagan to perceive the force of Nana's objections. He could not but recollect that when he was minister, under Madhoorao, the conduct of Raghoba had invariably tended to dissension, loss, or dishonour. He therefore, though pretending to be desirous of reinstating Raghoba, began to evade the question when pressed by his English friends. The Bombay Government however found a weak ally in Moroba and a majority of the council seeing that their hopes of being able, through Moroba, to destroy the influence of the French at Poona had vanished, came to a resolution, on the 22nd April, of countermanding Colonel Leslie's detachment; but on the 3rd of the ensuing month they reversed this resolution, and directed Colonel Leslie to advance.

Moroba had given Mr. Mostyn assurances that St. Lubin should be dismissed; but his departure was delayed from day to day; and it was soon discovered that St. Lubin, by Nana's contrivance, had been able to persuade Moroba to enter into his views. But, in effect, notwithstanding appearances, Nana Furnawees, unless under the immediate influence of fear, would have been the greatest obstacle

to the French views, had they ever attempted an establishment in the Mahratta country. His jealousy of Europeans would never have admitted a French force sufficiently strong even for the expulsion of the English from the small settlement of Bombay, unless he could have been certain of crushing them afterwards.* Nana Furnawees never believed that St. Lubin could bring troops; and one deception, which that imposter adopted to obtain credit, by writing to Goa and Daman for permission to pass two French regiments through the Portuguese territories, seems only to have succeeded where he least wished it, with the English by whom his letters were intercepted.

While the events that have just been detailed were occurring, Mahadji Sindia and Hurrypunt united their forces at Merich. Both these officers were in Nana's interests; and the well-concerted plan of threatening Hyder, during Nana's danger, deceived both Hyder and Moroba; nor did Moroba awake from his dream of security, until Hurrypunt and Mahadji Sindia, arriving by different routes, united at Purandhar on the 8th July when they united with the army of Holkar, who had been, in the meantime, detached from the opposite party by a bribe of nine lacs of rupees and restored Nana again to the highest rank in the ministry. Nana thereupon occupied the principal passes in the country with his troops. Moroba upon this once more resorted to negotiation with the English, but it was too late—the opportunity was lost. On the 11th July, Moroba and his colleagues were arrested by a party of horse belonging to Mahadji Sindia, and several of them put to death Bajaba Purandhare was thrown into the fort of Wunden, and some of the others into different hill-forts in the Ghauts. Succaram Bapoo, whose name it was deemed important to associate with the proceedings, was simply placed under restraint. The party of Raghoba was thus extinguished at Poona.

The unshaken constancy of Succaram to his master Raghoba deserved a better fate. He was chained in irons so heavy, that although a very powerful man, he could scarcely lift them; his food and water were insufficient to allay his hunger or quench his thirst; but he nevertheless survived 14 months; and so emaciated did he become that he could not rise; and while dying said that his strength had gone, and his life was ebbing, and that when his voice and breath should fail, his fleshless bones would still shout "Raghunathrao! Raghunathrao!!" Succaram was a singular instance of the unshaken fidelity of that class in the history of Maharashtra.

The deep artifice of Nana Furnawees has succeeded in baffling the designs of his own countrymen, but he had still to encounter the intellect and vigour of Englishmen. The national jealousy he had ventured to awaken, rose with an aspect which terrified him. The application of the resident at Poona to the ministers, and to Sindia and Holkar, for passports to facilitate the march of a body of British troops from the east to the west of India, for the declared purpose of counteracting the designs of the French, seems at first to have been viewed by the Mahrattas simply as a threat. They probably thought that if it had been intended to send troops to Bombay, they would have been embarked from the coast of Coromandel, and replaced from Bengal. The idea, however, of forming an alliance with Moodaji Bhonslay was the motive of the Governor-General for choosing the overland route.

It appearing that Nana Furnawees had not only obstructed the fulfilment of the treaty of Purandhar, but was supposed to be negotiating with, if he had not actually concluded a treaty with the French, which threatened the existence of the Company's possessions on the west of India, and the Bombay Government also having received instructions from the Governor-General in Council to assist

in tranquillising the Mahratta States, they thought themselves authorised to call upon the new administration to state whether or not they held the Mahratta State bound by the treaty of Purundhar, and to demand explicit answers on the points still in dispute. Instructions to that effect were addressed to their envoy, and they directed him to remonstrate against St. Lubin's being still allowed to remain at Poona. Nana Furnawees perceived that he had committed himself with regard to the English further than he had intended, or might be enabled to retract, and his enmity had been too actively exercised against Raghoba, ever to hope for reconciliation with him or his friends. St. Lubin was dismissed early in the month of July before Morotta was placed in confinement; but Nana, on St. Lubin's taking leave, although he entered into no actual agreement, was at that time sincere in his assurances, when he declared that, if the envoy could bring a French corps to his aid, he would grant his nation an establishment in the Mahratta territories.

Sindia and Holkar, granted passports for Colonel Leslie's detachment as it was their object that the British troops should pass through their territories as friends rather than as enemies. The ministers, however, observed to Mr. Mostyn, that the detachment having been sent on account of the French, the dismissal of the envoy, rendered their advance and their passports unnecessary; Nana at the same time sent secret orders to the Mahratta officers, and to the Rajas in Bundelkund, to oppose Colonel Leslie's progress.

It was at this conjuncture that Moroba's party made proposals to Mr. Mostyn, containing satisfactory assurances on every point referred, which that gentleman intended to carry to Bombay himself, but postponed doing so in hopes of receiving answers to the demands which had been formerly made on the Mahratta Government; but Nana, who was fully

apprised of all that was going forward, in order to create delay, kept back the replies of the acknowledged and executive authority of the State, until Mr. Mostyn's patience was quite exhausted and that gentleman started for Bombay without it. Soon after Mr. Mostyn had left, Nana sent the replies to his assistant Mr. Lewis who transmitted them to Bombay. These replies positively denied having entered into any treaty with the French, and in general they were merely a brief summary of the arguments which had before been used in the interpretation of the articles of the treaty of Purundhar. In regard to the important question as to whether or not the new ministry held themselves bound by that treaty, it was stated that if the English observed that treaty faithfully, the ministers would do the same.

About the time these evasive answers were received in Bombay, intelligence arrived of the war with France, and the President and Council after deliberating upon the replies, and the proposals of Moroba's party, were of opinion that the former were a violation of the treaty of Purundhar; and that they in consequence, under the authority granted by the Supreme Government, were at liberty to pursue such measures as might be expedient for the subversion of the party in the Mahrata State so decidedly inimical and extremely dangerous to their interests. They accordingly resolved to place Raghoba in the regency, but with an express proviso that the government should be conducted in the name of the young Peishwa, Madhoorao Narayan, and that the entire powers should be surrendered to him on the expiration of his minority, which by the Hindoo law, terminated on the completion of the 16th year. The whole was to be kept a secret until the opening of the season, when it was intended to carry their plans into effect with the utmost vigour; and in the meantime they directed Colonel Leslie,

who had been before instructed to proceed to Surat, to change his route, and march on to Joonere.

Nana Furnawees perceived the gathering storm, and his preparations to meet it were in progress, whilst those of the Bombay Government were only in embryo. To prevent the interference of Succaram Bapoo, he was on the plea of advanced age, removed from the administration, and guarded by a body of Sindia's troops, who were placed in watch over his person and house, though still Nana Furnawees and Sindia pretended to be guided by his advice. In the meanwhile recruits were enlisted in every direction, and directed to assemble at the Dussera. Vessels in the different ports were refitted, the forts were provisioned and repaired, and fresh instructions were despatched to harass Leslie on his march, though positive orders were issued not to avow that the opposition was made under authority from Poona. An agent was sent to Bombay to beguile the Government by making overtures to Raghoba, but the vigilance of Mr. Lewis had apprised the Government of the intention.

Towards the end of August, the Bombay Government for the first time received information from the Governor-General in Council, of their intention of forming an alliance with Moodaji Bhonslay, the Rajah of Berar, and they were directed to enter into no engagement hostile to the Government at Poona, excepting such as was absolutely defensive. But on this the President and the majority of the members of council observed, that Moodajee, was so wholly connected with their design of establishing Raghoba in the regency, that this intimation ought not to be allowed to interrupt their proceedings. However, up to the 12th of October no preparations had been begun at Bombay, and Mr. John Carnac, one of the members of the council, and the declared successor of Governor Hornby, in consequence of the delay,

submitted a minute, urging the necessity of vigorous preparations and representing all the evils of procrastination. Mr. Carnac, though best known in the West of India in his civil capacity, was originally a military officer in the Bengal establishment, where he had risen to the rank of Brigadier-General, and been distinguished by his services. Mr. Draper, with his usual deliberation, and in this instance with the clearest judgment, dissented from Mr. Carnac's proposal, observing that it was impossible for them to judge what might be the object of the Governor-General and Council in treating with Moodaji Bhonslay; he perfectly agreed in the propriety and expediency of removing Nana Furnawees, when it could be effected with certainty, but circumstances had materially altered at Poona since their first resolution. After a considerable wrangling amongst the members of the council, Mr. John Carnac was appointed president of the committee to settle the preliminaries of a treaty with Raghoba. This committee was composed of two members of the council and the commander of forces, in whom was not only vested the political authority, but every other power for conducting Raghunathrao to Poona.

The basis of the new agreement with Raghoba differed little from the treaty of Surat, as far as the Company were concerned; but as regards Raghoba it was most expressly stated that the English were to place him at Poona as Regent; and in other respects, the articles were nearly in conformity with the instructions from Bengal.

On November 22, 1778, the first detail of English troops embarked at Bombay and crossed the harbour to the continent; and in a month, the army, about 2,500 strong, had assembled at Khundalla, the head of the Bhore Ghaut on the Poona road, when Raghunathrao joined it with his followers, and Mr. Carnac, on the part of the council accompanied him. Colonel Egerton had been placed

at the head of this small army. The Commissariat arrangements, however, were so bad that it took the army 11 days to perform a distance of 8 miles. The dilatory preparations at Bombay had afforded Nana Furnawees and Mahadjee Sindia ample time to assemble their army. Succaram Bapoo's restraint at this crisis was deemed impolitic, probably from the same cause as before on account of the situation in which he stood with the British Government as one of the two ministers who had concluded the treaty of Purundhar. A reconciliation had therefore been brought about, and he ostensibly resumed his office as minister. The principal part of the military arrangements was entrusted to Mahadjee Sindia, Hurrypunt Phurkay and Tookajee Holkar, but they took care to place Holkar, of whom Nana was justly suspicious, in a situation which would render his junction with Raghoba extremely hazardous.

On the 9th of January 1779 the Mahrattas 50,000 strong made a show of resistance to the British army at Tullegaum, where they had advanced on the approach of the English ; but when the line advanced in order of battle, they retired. The village had been destroyed by order of Nana Furnawees, and the committee heard that similar orders had been given for burning Chinchore and Poona. Carnac who in spite of his being a civilian was responsible for all the movements of the British army, from Tullegaum, was panic-struck, and though within eighteen miles of the Mahratta capital, determined in the first instance to open a negotiation with the enemy, and then to retreat. Raghunathrao, who, with all his faults, was a gallant soldier, protested against this cowardice, so contrary to the British character, but Carnac and other European officers with only a solitary exception were so alarmed that they began their retreat that very night. Such a step in the face of a Mahratta host, with clouds of cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. The Eng-

lish troops had scarcely begun to fall back when their rear was assailed by the whole force of the enemy. Fortunately it was commanded by Captain Hartley, a young officer of high and rising reputation, who gallantly withstood several most furious charges. The loss, however, was so severe that even a retreat beyond Wurgaum was impracticable, and so no resource remained but negotiation. Mr. Farrar, the secretary of the committee was therefore sent to negotiate with the ministers; they at first demanded the surrender of Raghoba, which the committee would have complied with, but they were saved from this disgrace by his having entered into a separate agreement with Mahadjee Sindia to whom he afterwards gave himself up. Sindia was aiming at an ascendancy which Nana Furnawees was studiously endeavouring to prevent, yet each was so necessary to the other in the Mahratta empire, that although their ultimate views were at variance, their present interests were in union. The ruling party of which Nana and Sindia were now the real authorities, insisted on the committee entering into a treaty for the surrender of the whole territory which the Bombay Government has acquired since the death of Madhoorao Bullal, together with the revenue of Surat and Broach. The committee thinking that there was an impossibility of retreat, but wishing to temporise, desired Mrs. Farmer to inform the ministers that they had no power to enter into any treaty without the concurrence of the Supreme Government. "Show us then" said Mahadjee Sindia, when this message was delivered, "the power under which you broke the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton." Short time however had barely elapsed when the committee sent Mr. Holmes to Mahadji Sindia with full power to conclude a treaty.

The separate negotiation thus opened with Sindia flattered him exceedingly, and accorded most fully with his plans of policy; but no ebullition of joy pre-

vented his taking every advantage of the English, as far as was consistent with the control he now had, and was determined to preserve over Nana Furnawees. Finally it was determined by the convention of Wurgaum that the English and Mahrattas should return to their mutual positions as held in 1773, that the advance of the army under Colonel Goddard across the country should be countermanded and two hostages should be given for the performance of the treaty—the first and only time when the British were called upon to give hostages in India.

Both at Bombay and at home the utmost indignation was felt at this disgraceful convention of Wurgaum. Mr. Carnac, Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, were dismissed from the service. Mr. Hornby disavowed the legality of the convention, and on the 19th February 1778, laid an elaborate minute before his council, in which he took a view of Mahratta politics and the line of conduct which he thought the most expedient for the British authorities to pursue; he at the same time made every preparation to improve and recruit the army. The end he proposed to attain, was that of securing peace, so as to exclude the French from the Mahratta dominions, and retain the territory then in the possession of the English. He assumed, as a matter of certainty, that Sindia had evinced by his conduct an aversion to the French, and a desire to form an alliance with the English against Nana Furnawees. In this supposition Mr. Hornby was not wholly wrong; for, had Nana by any means, foreign or domestic, become too powerful, Mahadjee Sindia might have sought assistance from the English; but whilst Nana Furnawees held the reins principally by the support of Sindia's power, it was completely the interest of the latter to uphold Nana's administration. Mr. Hornby was of opinion that, the money promised to Sindia's servants should be paid, and that Broach should be

given to Sindia for his kindness in sparing the English army at Wurgaum. All these suggestions were submitted to the Supreme Government.

In regard to the alliance with Sindia, the Governor-General was disposed to concur with Mr. Hornby in supposing that Sindia had some secret design in connecting himself with the English. General Goddard who superseded Colonel Leslie was therefore desired to treat separately with Sindia in case he should at any time find him disposed to espouse the interests of the Company; but the dependency of Nana Furnawees on Mahadjee Sindia was at this time best secured by war, and whilst his vakeel at Bombay was professing his master's regard, an attack instigated by Sindia was made on Bankote with no other design than to fan the flame and excite the English to hostilities, as a further hold on Nana Furnawees, whom Sindia governed by his fears. He caused the settlement of a Jahagir in Bundelkund to be made on Raghunathrao, of twelve lacs of rupees, for which he became the guarantee and at the same time gave his security to Nana against Raghoba's ever molesting the government. Raghoba thus became an instrument of Sindia, an instrument that was unserviceable on account of its unnatural cruelty and consequent unpopularity. Nana Furnawees was perhaps secretly pleased to observe Sindia connecting himself with a man more likely to be shunned than followed, and only dangerous as political instrument in foreign hands. Soon after this arrangement was made, Raghoba was sent off towards his Jahagir in Bundelkund, for the purpose, as Nana believed, of being confined in the fort of Jhansee, until Sindia might find it convenient to release him; but Raghoba's usual escort, even his guns were suffered to accompany him, whilst the troops for watching his movements on the way scarcely exceeded the number of his own followers. Just before

Raghoba reached the Nerbudda, in the latter end of May, he was secretly warned of Sindia's intentions to confine him in Jhansee ; on which having watched his opportunity, he attacked and dispersed his guard, and fled with all speed to Broach to throw himself at the feet of his friends, the English, although he could hardly expect that they would stretch their arms to receive him. Although no explanation took place between the Sindia and Raghoba, there is little doubt, but the whole was Sindia's contrivance It widened the breach between Nana and the English, but with either party it gave Sindia an advantage; it roused the fear and jealousy of one, and made him more dependent ; whilst the broken, inexplicable hints of friendship which it gave to the English, might be interpreted as alluding to some scheme of co-operation connected with this design of releasing their mutual friend.

Towards the close of the year 1779, Sindia handed over Succaram Bapoo to Nana, by whom he was confined in the fortress of Singhur, and thence removed to Purtabgur, a fortress 4,000 feet above the level of the plain, from the windows of which he could discern the spot, where, one hundred and twenty years before, his ancestor Puntaji had treacherously betrayed his confiding master Afzool Khan into the hands of Sivaji. The venerable old man was hurried on from place to place and lastly to Raigur, where he closed a life which had been marked by every vicissitude of privation and grandeur, of toil and triumph. The minister of Raghoba, Chintoo Vithal, also perished in a hill fort, from the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment.

When Nana Furnawees required and obtained the sacrifice of his rival, Saccaram Bapoo, and of Chintoo Vitul, the minister of Raghoba, it was no test of Sindia's fidelity to him ; on the contrary, his having given them up to satisfy Nana at that time was perhaps from the artifice of his character,

rather an evidence of his having been accessory to Raghoba's flight.

One of the conditions of the Wurgaum convention was that the advance of the English army under General Goddard from the east should be stopped It need hardly be said that when the above convention was declared invalid by the Bombay and Bengal Governments, and also by the Court of Directors, Goddard was allowed to continue his march through Bundelkund, Malwa, Bhopal and Burhanpoor to Surat, where he arrived on February 26, 1779, having avoided the snares formed by the enemy to interrupt his progress. The unexpected appearance of so large a force from the banks of the Jumna, re-established the reputation of the British power, and confirmed its influence at the native courts which the convention of Wurgaum had tarnished.

During the progress of this wonderful expedition of General Goddard, intelligence was received in Calcutta of the declaration of war between France and England. This declaration of war added to the mission of St. Lubin and the countenance given to him by Nana Furnawees, led Hastings to apprehend a combination of the Mahrattas and the French. Hastings adopted the most vigorous measures to meet this new crisis; he augmented the army; he embodied the militia of Calcutta, to the number of a thousand, and tried, though in vain, to secure the alliance of the Rajah of Berar, by making an offer to assist him in getting the office of Peishwa. But Moodajee had kept aloof from the exisiting contest, and the negotiation renewed by General Goddard on his march broke down. It need hardly be recorded that Goddard was welcomed and elected a member of their council by the Bombay authorities. Mr. Hornby asked him to make the Gaekwar independent of the Poona ministry, which he could not do without the sanction of the Governor-General.

On April 15, 1779, instructions were received from Mr. Hastings to negotiate a new treaty with the Mahrattas on the basis of that of Purandhar, with a proviso against the admission of the French, and if this failed, Mr. Hornby's plan with regard to the Gaekwar might be followed. It was at Surat that the fugitive Raghoba was received, though at first scarcely welcomed, by the English; he was, however, honourably treated when on the 12th June 1779, accompanied by his sons Amrutrao and Bajirao, the latter a child four years old, he visited General Goddard in his camp, who settled an allowance of fifty thousand rupees a month on him which the Governor-General and Council totally disapproved of, and condemned as a lavish and unnecessary expenditure. General Goddard had been sufficiently prudent to avoid entering on any terms of alliance with Raghoba: it was considered very impolitic to attempt forcing a person into the Mahratta Government to whom the whole nation had manifested indifference or aversion, and consequently if their negotiations failed, the English in order to win back the prestige they had lost by the Wurgaum convention, were determined to fight the Poona ministry, not as auxiliaries to Raghoba, but as principals.

The negotiations between General Goddard and Nana Furnawees continued for several months; but towards the end of monsoon, Goddard communicated to the Bombay Government some intelligence he had received of a general confederacy of the Mahratta chiefs, with the exception of the Gaekwar, Hyder, and Nizam Ali against the English, on whom it was said they meditated simultaneous attack at all the three presidencies. General Goddard on the receipt of this information pressed Nana for a reply to the proposals; but Nana declared that the restitution of Salsette and the surrender of Raghoba were preliminaries to any treaty which the English

might wish to conclude with the Mahratta State. These were necessarily inadmissible ; and the English prepared for war. General Goddard, therefore, in order to consult the Bombay Government regarding an alliance with Futteh Sing Gaekwar, immediately started for Bombay, where he arrived on the 1st November 1779 ; his principal motive, however, in repairing to Bombay, was to urge despatch in preparing and sending off a reinforcement to the army.

The Bombay Government acceded to his desire, and a detachment under Colonel Hartley consisting of 100 European artillery, 200 European infantry, and two battalions of native infantry, was speedily embarked for Guzerat. General Goddard on his return to Surat dismissed the Vakeels of Nana Furnawees, put his army in a state of readiness, and opened a negotiation with Futteh Sing Gaekwar. A treacherous correspondence between Nana and Mr. Vandegrasp, the Dutch chief and director at Surat, for surprising the castle of Surat was discovered, which made the English take precautions to prevent the design of the plotters.

Futteh Sing, on the receipt of the proposals attempted to procrastinate, and showed every disposition to evade a definite engagement with the English. General Goddard therefore, on the 1st January 1780, crossed the Taptee, and before the end of the month reduced Dubhoy, which was in possession of the Peishwa, and was garrisoned by about 2,300 men. Futteh Sing now began to negotiate in earnest, and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was made by which he was to join the English camp with 3,000 horse, and receive possession of all the Peishwa's territories north of the Myhee, and make over to the English certain districts to the South. After this, on the 13th February, the capital of Guzerat was attacked, and carried by assault with the utmost gallantry, in which the English lost 106 in killed and wounded. Immediately on the re-

duction of Ahmedabad, Goddard heard that Holkar and Sindia had crossed the Nerbudda with 20,000 men to encounter him.

After the escape of Raghoba there was some coolness between Sindia and Nana, but they were speedily reconciled ; and although Mahadjee did not wish to quit the capital at that time, yet as he had Nana under command by causing him to apprehend an alliance with the English, he at last consented to oppose General Goddard in Guzerat ; and it is necessary to apprise the reader that Nana Furnawees was without reserve informed of all the subsequent proceedings of Sindia. A report however was spread of Sindia's being on the eve of a rupture with Nana, which was speedily followed by another report of his intentions to make a desperate effort to recover possession of Raghoba's person by assaulting Surat.

Raghunathrao (Raghoba) had remained in the city of Surat when General Goddard took the field ; a circumstance which Mahadjee did not comprehend, because he thought that the English were auxiliaries to Raghoba, and may have disconcerted the plan he was hatching. Sindia however, when he took the field on the 29th February, professed great enmity towards Nana Furnawees, and the greatest friendship for the English, and liberated the two hostages, Mr. Farmer and Lieut. Stewart, who had been given up to him at the convention of Wurgaum, and whom he had since treated with great hospitality.

This act of kindness was followed by the appearance of Sindia's Vakeel, Abaji Sabaji, who opened negotiations in his master's behalf. But Goddard left Sindia to choose the terms which would prove mutually advantageous, as the British Government in India, according to what Goddard said, had no other wish than of a permanent peace, which they were determined to obtain on terms honourable, defined and secure.

Goddard however could not fail to perceive that Sindia's chief object was to waste the time in negotiation, and keep the English inactive during the season of operations. He therefore, though sincere in assuring Sindia of his desire for peace, limited the negotiation to a certain time ; and allowed Sindia three days from the time his Vakeel quitted the British camp, to offer his proposals. Accordingly on the 16th March, the Vakeel returned, and submitted the following terms from his master viz., —" That after the return of the English army to Bombay from Wurgaum, a written agreement had been entered into between Raghoba and Sindia, by which the former consented to relinquish all claims to any share in the administration at Poona, and to retire towards Jhansee, where he should receive an allowance of 12 lacs of rupees per annum ; that the Sicca should continue in the name of the young Peishwa, Madhoorao Narayan, and that Bajeerao, the son of Raghoba, should be apointed the Peishwa's Dewan (Minister) ; that the care and management of that important office should be left entirely to Sindia during the minority of Bajeerao who was at this time only four years old. He now, therefore proposed that Raghoba should retire to Jhansee, and that the young Bajeerao should accompany him to Poona.

Such were the proposals of Sindia who left it to Goddard to propose terms for the English, but General Goddard merely objected to what was wrong, declaring that Raghoba should not be forced to go to a particular place against his inclination, because voluntarily had he sought the protection of the English, and consequently his quitting it should also be voluntary ; that even allowing the English did assist Sindia to acquire the entire powers of the state, for the sum of his proposals amounted to nothing less, Sindia, on his part in the name of the Peishwa, should previously consent to certain conditions favourable to the British interests, as well in

consideration of the benefits he was to derive, as in compensation for the wars of the Mahratta State in which they had been compelled to engage. The negotiation was thus brought to a point within seven days, which Sindia probably intended to have spun out into as many months ; when it would have been his study to balance Brahmin fears and jealousy against the policy of the English, and that sanguine temperament of Europeans which is usually accompanied by credulity.

Although the answer of Goddard to his proposals was unacceptable to Mahadji Sindia, yet he continued to profess his friendly regard for the English ; but perceiving that Goddard was not to be duped, he opened a negotiation with Govindrao Gaekwar for putting him in possession of Guzerat. Hostilities thus commenced, and Goddard had now no other desire than to bring on an action, which the Mahrattas as carefully avoided. The first at last was directed against the Mahratta camp at Pawangurh, where the Mahrattas were defeated, 3rd April 1780. The loss of the Mahrattas was considerable, and Goddard thought he gained a victory ; it not being deemed advisable at that period to follow up the pursuit of Sindia. To the surprise of the English commanders, intelligence was received of the enemy's having taken a fresh position quite entire. Goddard again endeavoured to bring them to action ; but on his approach, the Mahrattas discharged a flight of rockets, and disappeared as before (April 14.) Colonel Hartley was ordered at the request of the Bombay Government to reinforce the army of the Concan (May 8th.)

General Goddard though called by the government of Bombay to reduce the fort of Bassein, could not leave Guzerat, because then Futteh Sing the ally of the English, would be at the mercy of the enemy. The inhabitants of Bombay being dependent on the neighbouring continent for the greater part of their provi-

sions it was necessary to prevent the Mahrattas cutting off the supplies by occupying several posts. The principal place captured for this purpose was the town of Callian, which Nana Furnawees set a high value upon; he therefore assembled a large force for the purpose of recovering it, and driving the English from the continent. A post on the Ghauts, which had been seized by the English before the capture of Callian, was attacked and captured by the Mahrattas. Being elated at this success, they advanced on Callian, which was however defended in the most obstinate manner. Fortunately Colonel Hartley arrived with his force on the 25th May 1780, just in time to prevent the assault, and obliged the Mahrattas to retire. They subsequently retired from the Concan, and left the British unmolested during the remainder of the fair season.

Meanwhile in Guzerat, General Goddard moved on to the Nerbudda in order to place his troops in convenient stations during the approaching rains. In the Concan, after the monsoon had set in, the Mahrattas in small parties returned to molest the different posts, but with no great success, as Callian was guarded against their attack by Major Hopkins and Captain Abington.

In order to draw off Sindia or Holkar or both from Guzerat, Goddard advised the Governor-General to make a diversion in Bundelkund and Malwa. Mr. Hastings therefore sent a force of 2,400 men and a small detachment of European artillery under Captain Popham, who took Lahar by storm, and reduced Gwalior heretofore declared impregnable, on the 4th of August 1780.

As soon as the season opened, General Goddard having brought down his force by sea to Salsette, advanced to invest Bassein, and arrived before it on the 13th November. Trenches were opened, and the 1st battery was completed on the 28th of the same month. Bassein surrendered, on the 11th of the

following month, although Nana Furnawees and Hurrypunt used every endeavour to raise the seige, and recover the Concan. On the 10th December, the united Mahratta force amounting to 20,000 men attacked the Bombay Division under Hartley placed a few miles from Bassein in order to cover the operations of Goddard both in front and rear consecutively, but were each time steadily repulsed; and having again attacked on the 12th, were defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of their leader Ramchundra Ganesh who fell with the well-earned reputation of a gallant and skilful officer; they then retreated precipitately, greatly dispirited by their heavy loss.

The reduction of Bassein, and the defeat of the army in the Concan were severely felt by Nana Furnawees. On the 13th December 1780, a letter was received from Bengal by the Bombay Government dated the 9th October, informing them that it was the intention of the Supreme Government to make peace with the Peishwa, which was the more desirable in order to separate them from their league with Nizam Ali and Hyder, the latter of whom had begun war with the Madras Presidency. Moodajee Bhonslay of Berar was to be the mediator between the English and the Peishwa. Subsequent to this despatch however, news of Colonel Baillie's disastrous defeat was received; Moodajee therefore hesitated in becoming mediator unless on terms which Mr. Hastings would not accede to; it was therefore determined to carry on the war until some satisfactory proposal should be received from the Peishwa's Government.

On the 18th January 1781 Goddard, having obliged the fort of Arnaul to surrender, conceived that an advance with his army across the Ghauts to Poona was most likely to bring about a peace between the Mahrattas and the English. Hurrypunt, who was then in the Concan, on learning

this retired to Poona, but took the precaution of leaving the Bhore Ghaut guarded. It was gallantly attacked and carried on the 8th of February by a party of the Bengal troops under the command of Colonel Parker, who afterwards forced the pass with ease, and the troops were encamped at Khandalla, where they were joined by the greater part of the force, although Goddard with the headquarters, remained at the village of Campoly, at the bottom of the Ghauts. Their appearance gave Nana Furnawees no alarm, for his political boldness was contrasted in an extraordinary, but amongst Brahmins by no means a singular manner, with his personal timidity, and the only effects produced on him by the advance to the Ghauts were additional efforts to increase the army, and the most vigorous preparations for rendering the country a desert and Poona a ruin. He, however, endeavoured to amuse General Goddard by sending an unauthorised agent to treat with him, which induced Goddard to make overtures on the terms proposed through Moodaji Bhonslay, which were offered by the Governor-General before the news of Hyder's attack on Arcot had arrived, and which consequently were broken off; of these Nana affected ignorance; Goddard sent him a copy of the terms, and thus subjected them to positive rejection; for Nana Furnawees remarked that these now sent could not be listened to, nor at that time would any terms be admitted in which Hyder Ali, the ally of the Mahratta State was not included, (which after Hyder's attack and destruction of Colonel Baillie's force could not of course be listened to.) Nana's own words were as follows:—"The copy of the proposals which you have sent, has been read from beginning to end by your friend; and it is certain that the contents therein written are not proper or fit for the approbation of this Government; if you are sincere in your desire of friendship, it is incumbent on you to make

proposals which shall include those persons who are at this itme allied to and connected with the Council of this State."

Nana Furnawees had sent the Peishwa, now in his 7th year, to Purundhar. Harrypunt Phurkay and Tookaji Holkar commanded the main body of his army with which Nana himself advanced towards the Ghauts, and Purshuram Bhow Putvardhan was sent into the Concan with a force of 12,000 men to harass Goddard's detachments, and obstruct the communication with Bombay. The Mahrattas at this time had put 60,000 men in all in the field. Goddard was obliged to retreat. This expedition which proved a total failure, was the only mistake of his career. The Bombay Government now gave themselves up to the defensive system of warfare. Mr Hastings disapproved of the defensive system undertaken by the Bombay Government, and sent Colonel Carnac, as he had before sent Popham, to carry on the war in Sindia's territories. He entered Malwa without difficulty, but was afterwards reduced to great distress by the manœuvres of the Mahratta chieftains. The Colonel, however, succeeded in surprising and defeating Sindia with great loss. After this the English succeeded by a large sum of money in detaching Moodajee Bhonslay from the Mahratta confederacy. Ultimately a treaty was concluded on the 17th May 1782, at Salbye by Mr. David Anderson on the part of the East India Company, and by Mahadji Sindia on that of the Peishwa, Nana Furnawees and the whole of the chiefs of the Mahratta nation ; Mahadji Sindia being at the same time Plenipotentiary of the Peishwa and the guarantee of both the parties for the due performance of the treaty. It consisted of seventeen articles amongst which were (1) that Raghunathrao (Raghoba) was to be allowed 25,000 rupees a month and to be permitted to choose a place of residence, (2) that all conquests made since the treaty of Purandhar were

to be restored (3) that the Gaekwar's territory was to remain inviolate (4) and that Hyder should be obliged to surrender his conquests from the English and the Nabob of Arcot. This treaty was ratified at Calcutta on the 6th of June following, but the adjustment on the part of the Peishwa was delayed by Nana Furnawees (for reasons which will be hereafter explained) until the 20th December, nor was it finally settled until the 24th February 1783.

During the period that the ratification was in suspense, the Governor-General in Council agreed to the session of Broach to Mahadji Sindia, and that valuable district was bestowed on him in testimony of the sense entertained of the conduct manifested by him towards the Bombay army at Wurgaum, and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.

Now to account for the long period which elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty of Salbye and its ratification by the Peishwa; as Nana Furnawees was one of the parties concerned in it, it is necessary to unfold the motives which actuated the leading parties of the Mahratta State. Notwithstanding the increasing jealousy between Mahadji Sindia and Nana, though the former sought to establish a kingdom virtually independent, and though each was desirous of extending his control over the whole Mahratta nation, both continued sensible of the necessity of preserving the strength of the empire undivided. During the progress of the war with the British Government, Nana's influence and reputation had increased, while that of Sindia had diminished. Yet by the treaty of Salbye, Sindia, whilst his fortune seemed on the decline, had attained one main object of his policy, a sovereignty virtually independent, without any apparent breach of the great link which bound him to the Mahratta confederacy. Although both Mahadji Sindia and

Nana Furnawees were desirous of a general peace, yet each of them had secret intentions of soon breaking it in such partial instances as suited their respective machinations of aggrandisement. Nana aspired to the recovery of all the territories south of the Nerbudda that had ever belonged to the Mahrattas, whilst Sindia projected the re-establishment of the Mahratta power in the provinces of Hindoostan.

Although the terms of the treaty of Salbye were so much more favourable to the Mahrattas than any that could have been anticipated before the war between the English and Hyder broke out, yet Nana, being jealous of the prominent part taken by Sindia in the negotiation, and hoping that he might, by temporising recover Salsette from the English, maintained in all communications with the English authorities, an appearance of steadfast alliance with Hyder, whilst to the envoys of the latter he affected to be satisfied with the treaty of Salbye, and declared that its immediate ratification by the Peishwa could only be prevented by Hyder's restoring the Mahratta possessions south of the Krishna, which would ensure their co-operation; but if those possessions were not restored, the Mahrattas would unite with the English against him.

Nana's ulterior views, in case the pending treaty should be ratified, were hostile towards Hyder, as he in that event projected an offensive alliance with Nizam Ali, against the usurper of Mysore, from which the English were to be carefully excluded.

With regard to Sindia's particular views of aggrandisement, in order fully to understand the reasons which operated in inducing the British Government passively to view the growth of such a power as he had acquired in Hindoostan, it may be requisite to explain that Mahadjee Sindia, even before his campaign against Goddard in Guzerat, had suggested a plan of attacking the English in Bengal, and when his own territory was invaded, he renewed the pro-

posal to the Peishwa, requesting that Tookajee Holkar might be sent to support the design. To the whole of this scheme Nana Furnawees at first objected, until he saw a probability of its recalling Goddard, but he was afraid to detach Holkar from the Peishwa, not only from being apprehensive that Goddard might not be withdrawn, but lest Sindia should allay the existing jealousy on the part of Holkar towards himself; which Nana for his own security, was solicitous to foment. In giving therefore a tardy acquiescence to Sindia's plan, he proposed, instead of Holkar's quitting Poona, that Sindia should augment his army by a body of Sillidars from the Mahratta country, whom he offered to assist in raising

Sindia however seeing that he had a much better chance of realising his schemes by courting the favour of English than by exciting their hostility, made various excuses for declining Nana's suggestion. Meanwhile the sudden death of Hyder on the 7th December 1782, had a speedy effect in deciding the measures of the Mahratta minister Nana, who now consented to affix the seal of the Peishwa to the treaty of Salbye which was formally ratified on the 20th of December 1782.

Within a few months, however, after the signing of the treaty, an English ship with several military officers of distinction on board was attacked and carried as a prize by the Peishwa's admiral. This outrage had it happened when peace was less essential to the British Government, might have occasioned a renewal of the war. But upon an apology for the outrage, and the restoration of the vessel friendly relations between the two nations continued. Thus closed the first Mahratta war by which the English, it must be confessed, had earned very little either of glory or advantage.

The war was not however at an end. Tippoo who had succeeded his father Hyder Ali, although hepro-

fessed his acquiescence in the terms of the treaty of Salbye, continued to carry on hostilities against the English in the Madras territories; Mahadaji Sindia called upon him to desist, threatening him, in case of refusal, with an immediate attack from the united armies of the English and the Mahrattas. Tippoo however, persisted, and Mahadjee Sindia thereupon concluded a treaty with the English on the 28th October 1873, for the purpose of enforcing compliance. It was as much the wish of Nana Furnawees as of Sindia, to oblige Tippoo to conform to the terms of the treaty of Salbye, in order that he might appear to the powers of India, a Mahratta dependent as well as a tributary; but Nana's jealousy of Sindia's assumption of authority and his own projected alliance with Nizam Ali, impeded the scheme of the league in which Sindia and the English would have borne parts, so prominent (A. D. 1784.) In the meantime, however, a separate treaty was concluded between Tippoo and the English presidency of Fort St. George, which was not in accordance with the instructions of the Governor-General, who had authorised the Madras Government to negotiate a treaty of which that of Salbye was to be the basis. The English commissioners sent to negotiate the treaty were systematically insulted by Tippoo; and the British nation held up as suppliants for peace. It was on the 11th of March that the treaty of Mangalore, was signed, in which every allusion to the treaty of Salbye was omitted, a circumstance than which nothing could have been more gratifying to Tippoo, or more offensive to the Mahrattas, because it ignored their existence altogether. The strongest disapprobation of this omission and of many other points of that humiliating pacification was expressed by the Governor-General, who could have disavowed and annulled the treaty of Mangalore, and demanded a new treaty in its place in conjunction with the Mahrattas, had it not been for the fact that by so doing the Company's

affairs would have been involved in confusion, in consequence of a fulfilment of a part of the terms, before it could have been possible to obtain their satisfaction.

The Poona Government affected to disbelieve that any treaty could be settled without their concurrence, and declared that such an agreement would be a violation of the treaty of Salbye. But Mr. Hastings had previously apprised Mahadji Sindia of the instructions sent to the Madras Government, and he now explained the departure from his orders of which that Government had been guilty, stating likewise some part of the reasons which had induced him to ratify their proceedings; in consequence of which, as the leading parties in the Mahratta State were anxious to prosecute their respective views, there was little difficulty in reconciling them to a measure which had become irrevocable.

Subsequently, the first proceeding of Nana Furnawees, was a formal demand on Tippoo for arrears of tribute; which if refused, would be a sufficient cause of war. Tippoo admitted the justice of the demand, offering at the same time various excuses for not immediately complying with it.

Nana who had long expected that the demand for the payment of arrears would be refused by Tippoo, and that war would be the inevitable consequence, went to see the Nizam at Eedgur at the junction of the Bheema and the Kristna in July 1784, avowedly to settle with Nizam Ali about the outstanding Mahratta claims to Chouth (*i. e.* the fourth part of the Revenue) and Surdeshmukhee (*i. e.* 10 per cent. of the Revenue) within its territory; but secretly to arrange an offensive and defensive war against Mysore. The courts of Poona and Hyderabad were on the best terms, insomuch that a short time previous to making this demand, Nana Furnawees had assisted the latter state to suppress a formidable rebellion. With respect to Mahratta claims on the Nizam's territory, it was

agreed that such of the Mahratta Thannas as had been displaced by Nizam Ali since 1774, should be re-established in the Moghul territory ; and that the claims of the Chouth and Surdeshmukee for the last two seasons, should be put in immediate train for liquidation, adopting as a rule in all cases, the practice usual in the time of Madhoorao Bullal ; where any considerable doubt existed, the demands were to lie over until a general settlement could be made upon the claims admitted in the time of Nizam-ool-Moolkh, according to which, Nizam Ali bound himself to pay up all arrears.

Thus far the result of this conference was publicly made known, but the principal object as already alluded to, was an offensive alliance against Tippoo for the recovery of the districts which both States had lost by the encroachments of Mysore. Nizam Ali who had overestimated the value of his own alliance, demanded as a preliminary article of the agreement, the restoration of Ahmednagur and Bijapur. Nana Furnawees agreed to give up Bijapur after they should recover the territory north of the Toongbhadra, but after a prolonged discussion, neither party being well satisfied, nor as yet by any means prepared to prosecute their scheme to the verge of a rupture, the conference terminated in a general treaty of alliance, the particulars of which were to be specified as soon as they found themselves prepared to enter upon its execution. After levying the tribute due by the Naik of Sorapore, both parties returned to their respective capitals in July, and Nana Furnawees took the opportunity of endeavouring to possess himself of the ever coveted island of Jinjeera, but the mediation of the British Government prevented the attack, until events of greater moment diverted all immediate designs from the Seedee. Nizam Ali had scarcely reached his capital, when Tippoo apprised of the conference between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, proceeded to demand

from the Nizam the cession of Bijapur, on some frivolous pretext, and called on Nizam Ali to adopt his standard of weights and measures. Nizam Ali took little pains to obtain an explanation of these contemptuous and arrogant proposals, which were no doubt intended as an insult, until the month of October, when Tippoo was said to have taken the field for the purpose of invading that part of Moghul territory which lay south of the Krishna.

The Nizam was not prepared to oppose Tippoo in the field; an envoy therefore was immediately despatched to his camp, for the purpose of temporising, and another to Poona for the purpose of hastening the settlement of the projected alliance. Nana Furnawees was not only unprepared, but various affairs of internal government prevented him at that moment from concluding the alliance resolved upon at Eedgur and supporting his ally. Nizam Ali therefore was glad to prevent hostilities through his envoy at Seringapatam, which was effected not so much by any forbearance on the part of Tippoo as by his want of preparations for war.

The principal reason which induced Nana Furnawees to postpone the ratification of the treaty of Eedgur, was the reported progress of a conspiracy, said to have for its object, the deposition of Madhoorao Narayan, and the elevation of Bajeerao, the son of the late Raghunathrao to the Peishwa's Musnad. Raghunathrao, after the ratification of the treaty of Salbye, fixed on Kopergaum on the banks of the Godavery, as his place of residence, where he died in a few months leaving his widow Anundeebai who was then pregnant. In April 1784, she gave birth to a son, Chimmajee Appa. Bajeerao at the period of his father's death, had scarcely completed his ninth year, and was therefore too young himself to form a faction, which however, was formed in his behalf by the partisans of Raghunath, and many others who were dissatisfied with the existing Government. It is credi-

table to Nana Furnawees that in adopting measures for smothering these indications, which was soon accomplished, he placed no additional restraint on the family at Kopergaum. But they naturally became objects of his suspicion; mutual distrust was the consequence, and hatred grew up between Nana Furnawees and the sons of Raghunathrao. Mahadjee Sindia was said to have been the secret fomenter of the intrigues to which we have alluded, and from his usual policy of keeping Nana in perpetual alarm, there is ground to suspect his connivance; but he could have had no design of supporting such a faction, as he was at the time fully occupied in the accomplishment of those views on the Imperial territory we have before seen him projecting, and events soon took place which suddenly elevated him to the pinnacle of his ambition.

Meanwhile at the Imperial court there were two factions one headed by Afrasiab Khan and the other by Mahomed Beg. The emperor's son Mirza Jewan Bukht not knowing which party to join, fled to seek asylum for himself and assistance for his father from the English. Hastings granted the former but declined to give the latter. Afrasiab Khan fearing that the English would come to the assistance of the Emperor himself, asked assistance from them to subdue Mahomed Beg. On this being refused Sindia was called in who on the 22nd October 1784, made a treaty with the Emperor of Delhi which completely invested him with full authority, and placed him in a situation which he had only hoped to attain at some remote period. He refused the office of Umeer-ool-Omrah, but with his usual sagacity obtained for the Peishwa that of Vakeel-i-Mootluq, or supreme duty, a dignity first conferred on the great Nizam-ool-Moolk by Mahomed Shah, accepting at the same time for himself the appointment of Deputy Executive Minister with the command of the imperial army, and the management of Delhi and Agra,

an office second to the Peishwa, but one which if he should be able and desirous of asserting would supersede the power of all the ministers at the Court of the Peishwa. And though the accession of dignity to the Peishwa gratified the Mahratta people at large it made both Holkar and Nana Furnawees jealous of the elevation of Sindia who was at no period of his career so little on his guard to prevent that jealousy from being turned against him. Meanwhile, Sindia had been so much intoxicated by his success in Hindoostan, that he asked the English in the name of the Emperor to pay chouth of their possessions in Bengal, which demand was indignantly refused by Mr McPherson, who had succeeded to the temporary charge of the supreme government after Mr. Hasting's departure. The English now tried to lessen the power of Sindia by exciting the jealousy and rivalry of Moodajee Bhonslay. Nana was encouraged to express a wish to have a British Resident at the Peishwa's Court, and Mr. Charles Malet was selected for that important mission. Although no part of the treaty of Salbye precluded the British Government from sending an envoy to Poona, yet as considerable delicacy was due to Sindia, it was desirable that he should give his assent to the appointment, and it was supposed that this would be best obtained by Mr. Malet's proceeding in person to Sindia's camp, but the latter was too sagacious not to perceive the loss of influence which Mr. Malet's mission would occasion him. He observed that after having been entrusted for three years with the management of the English affairs at the Court of Poona, the appointment of a political agent of their own would necessarily impress the chiefs of the Deccan with an idea that the British Government was dissatisfied with his conduct, and revoked the confidence it had previously refused.

But these objections, however plausible, were not of sufficient weight to dissuade Mr. McPherson, from

the measures which he deemed it necessary to adopt. It was determined that Mr. Malet should proceed as envoy to the court of Poona ; but before the arrangement was finally settled, events had taken place to the southward, which rendered the appointment still more essential to the interests of the British Government.

Tippoo in assuming a right to the province of Bijapur and in threatening to attack the territory of Nizam Ali, had probably no other intention than to show the members of the confederacy, which he suspected was formed against himself, that he was well prepared to resist as they to prosecute the hostility meditated. At the subsequent accommodation with Nizam Ali, both parties understood that the adjustment was merely temporary, because even before the demand he made on the Nizam to cede Bijapur, he had written to his allies at Pondicherry that he was only waiting for an opportunity of crushing the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and exterminating the English, and had also forced many Hindus and Christians to become Mahomedans. Tippoo therefore continued to discipline his army and to prepare his forts with increased exertions ; and as the crisis approached, the security of the frontier garrisons became a principal object of attention. The fort and district of Noorgoon, situated at about twelve miles south of the Malpurba, belonged to a Brahmin Dessaye, and had fallen under Hyder with the other Mahratta possessions south of the Krishna in 1778. This district had only been subject to the payment of a moderate tribute, and Hyder, satisfied with the Dessaye's submission, enacted nothing more than had usually been paid to the Mahrattas. Tippoo however soon after his father's death, had increased the demand with which the Dessaye refused compliance, but concluding that it would be eventually enforced, he secretly claimed the protection of the Peishwa whose subject he declared himself to be ; and equally as secretly through

the agency of an Englishman in his service, named Yoon, applied to the Bombay Government for the aid of some regular troops, representing that he was an independent Raja willing to co-operate in the invasion of Tippoo's dominions. This application to Bombay was made prior to the treaty of Mangalore, but as no notice was taken of his overtures, the Dessaye continued to court the protection of the minister at Poona, and the friendship of the powerful family of the Putwurdhan, with whom he is said to have been connected. When Tippoo therefore pressed his demand, Nana Furnawees interposed, and declared that he had no right to exact more than the ordinary tribute. "That Jagheerdars, on the transfer of districts, were liable to no additional payments, and that the rights of Sevusthunees (Brahmins who possess old hereditary Jagheers who had been guilty of no treason towards the State to which they owed allegiance had been invariably respected." Tippoo replied, that he had a right to levy what he liked on his own subjects; and soon after despatched two separate bodies of troops to enforce demands far beyond Dessaye's ability to pay, which was, in other words, an order to reduce his forts.

The siege of Noorgoon commenced in the month of March; and a body of Mahrattas under Ganeshpunt Behree and Purshuram Bhow Putwurdhan advanced to its relief. Tippoo's vakeels still remained at Poona, and Nana Furnawees had sent orders to the Mahratta commander not to precipitate hostilities; but by the time they arrived in the neighbourhood of Noorgoon, Tippoo's officers had been compelled from want of water to raise the siege and encamp at some distance; they however sent in derision, a message to the Brahmin commanders, intimating that they had withdrawn their troops from respect to their master the Peishwa. Fired at this insult, the Mahrattas rode on to their camp, drove in their outpost and pressed forward, until repulsed by two of Tip-

poo's regular battalions supported by cavalry, when they retired

This premature attack was contrary to the orders of Nana Furnawees; but as it had been made, he immediately directed Tookajee Holkar with a considerable force, to support Ganeshpunt and Pursharam Bhow, though he at the same time intimated to Tippoo his concern regarding the quarrel, and his desire for accommodation. Tippoo, whose motives will become apparent, expressed an equal readiness to meet his wishes, and even offered to pay two year's tribute, provided his right of sovereignty was recognised in regard to Noorgoon. Nana Furnawees by the advice of Nizam Ali, and on assurance that submission was all that was required from the Dessaye, acceded to Tippoo's proposal, and everything appeared to be settled except the mode of payment, for which a period of twenty-seven days was allowed, and the Mahratta army recrossed the Krishna. Tippoo, however, had practised a gross deception. Noorgoon, left to its fate, submitted, and the terms offered to the unfortunate Dessaye were not observed; after evacuating the fort, he and his family were treacherously seized. his daughter was reserved for the Sultan's seraglio, and the rest were immured in Cabuldroog, where they perished.

The fort of Kittoor, which also belonged to a tributary Dessaye, had likewise been seized, and both that place and Noorgoon before the opening of the season were occupied by strong garrisons of the Sultan's troops. To crown these acts, as if he designed to render himself as odious as possible to the Mahrattas, Tippoo forcibly circumcised many of the Hindu inhabitants of the territory south of the Krishna; and ten thousand Brahmins destroyed themselves to avoid the detested violation.

Nana Furnawees very soon found that he had been duped by Tippoo, and he even began to doubt how far he might rely on the co-operation of Nizam Ali,

the inefficient state of whose army had not escaped his observations when they met at Eedgur, and he was alarmed by accounts of the excellent state of discipline of Tippoo's battalions. These circumstances combined with a report of Tippoo's having entered into an alliance with the French, had the effect of overcoming his reluctance to calling in the British troops whose aid he had declined courting lest they should be obliged to share with them the expected spoil. In the month of July he sent an agent to Mr. Boddam, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, offering on the part of the Peishwa, to give up to the Company any two of Tippoo's seaports on the Malabar coast if the English would assist them in reducing Tippoo's territory. Mr. Boddam referred Nana Furnawees to the Supreme Government with an unfeigned indifference which did not escape the quick-sighted envoy, and from which Nana began to change his opinion of the English policy. Although Nana Furnawees sent a private agent of his own to Calcutta, it was necessary to prosecute the negotiations through Mahadji Sindia, whilst there was no British Resident at the Peishwa's court. Sindia immediately applied to the Governor-General through Lieutenant James Anderson, then resident envoy in his camp, for assistance in case of a rupture between the Peishwa and Tippoo, hinting at the same time that the English were bound to afford every assistance, as by the treaty of Salbye the friends and enemies of the Mahrattas and English were mutual. He added, that the Peishwa was sure of the co-operation of Nizam Ali, that the terms of the alliance were, that each State was to get back the territory it had lost, and of any new acquisitions there should be an equal participation. The terms of reprobation in which Englishmen in India were accustomed to speak of the peace of 1784, led the Poona ministers, according to the opinion of Colonel Wilks to expect that the English would take part in this confederacy

against Mysore. But Mr. McPherson in reply, observed, that the treaty of Salbye did not stipulate that the friends and enemies of the States should be mutual, but that neither party should afford assistance to the enemies of the other ; and that by the treaty of Mangalore, the English were bound not to assist the enemies of Tippoo. Mr. McPherson in declining the alliance, however, made strong professions of friendship towards the Mahrattas, hinted at some reasons for dissatisfaction with Tippoo on the part of the British Government, in consequence of his not having fulfilled all the stipulations of the treaty of Mangalore, and concluded by assuring Sindia, that in case of any reverses the British Government would not suffer the Mahrattas to be overpowered. Nana Furnawees, the less solicitous the Governor-General appeared, became the more anxious to obtain the co-operation of the English, and he urged it the more because he was doubtful of the ability of the Nizam to abide the result of a contest with Tippoo ; and estimated the powerful aid which Tippoo was supposed to have obtained from the French, and the admirable discipline of his army too strong for the Mahrattas and the troops of the Nizam put together. At last, either in despair of obtaining the aid of the English, or in order to quicken their decision, he made overtures to the Portuguese, by whom he was promised assistance.

It is certain that Nana believed in this existence of a new treaty between Tippoo and the French. At the remonstration of the Mahratta envoy at Pondicherry, the French Governor denied the existence of such a treaty, and even proposed a closer connection with the Peishwa, a circumstance which is said to have greatly offended Tippoo. The French envoy at Poona was treated with much attention, and Revdunda was said to have been promised to that nation on condition of their not assisting Tippoo. These negotiations showed more than ever the ne-

cessity of appointing a British Resident at Poona, and Mr. Malet, then in Calcutta, was instructed to proceed to Bombay, and there await an invitation from the Peishwa to repair to his capital.

In the meantime the army was assembling at Poona for the purpose of invading Tippoo's territory, and the offer of the Governor-General to send English troops to serve under the Mahrattas at any place except in Tippoo's territory was rejected by Nana.

Owing to the unusual duration of the periodical rains this year, the Mahrattas under Hurrypunt Phurkay, were unable to quit Poona until about the 1st December, and then they advanced towards the eastern frontier for the purpose of forming a junction with Moodaji Bhonslay and Nizam Ali.

Moodaji promised anew to adhere strictly to the agreement which had been framed by Madhoorao and Jewaji in 1769; pledged himself particularly never to assist the English against the Peishwa's government; and promised to co-operate in the expected war with Tippoo, for which purpose he was now advancing. Nana Furnawees followed the army for the purpose of conferring with Nizam Ali, and evertook Hurrypunt at Pundharpur, whence they moved down the right bank of the Bheema, and were joined by the Moghul troops near the spot where the interview had taken place during the preceding season. It was now resolved to reduce the whole of Tippoo's territories, and to divide the conquest into six equal parts, of which Nizam Ali was to have two, the Peishwa two, and Sindia and Holkar two shares between them. It was further agreed that their first efforts should be directed to the recovery of the Mahratta districts between the Krishna and the Toongabhadra The allied army opened the campaign on the 1st of May 1786 by the seige of Badámee which surrendered before the end of the month. After the fall of Badamee, Nana Furnawees return

ed to Poona, and Hurrypunt who was left to prosecute the war caused the cavalry of the confederates to spread themselves over the country. The Sultan did not attempt directly to oppose this invading force ; but by a circuitous movement came rapidly upon Adonie the principal fortress of the Nizam, which contained the harems of his brother and nephew. Tippoo was here repulsed. After various assaults and repulses, which generally terminated to the advantage of Tippoo, he brought this campaign of nine months to an unexpected termination by a voluntary offer of peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded between the belligerents in April, 1787. The Mahrattas obtained the restitution of some territory. Adonie was restored to the Nizam, and Tippoo agreed to pay forty-five lacs of tribute, thirty of which were immediately produced, and the remainder promised to be paid at the expiration of a year.

The reason of so sudden a proposal of peace by Tippoo has never been understood ; but the appointment of an English envoy to the Mahratta court probably gave rise to an opinion, or indeed conviction, that the English were about to join the coalition against him. Mr. Malet had not only been invited to Poona as Resident, but at the request of Nana Furnawees, he had joined him at Badamee, a circumstance which Tippoo conceived, bespoke a very intimate connection ; but the acting Governor-General was studious to allay any alarm it might create, and had partly succeeded. Shortly afterwards, however, in September 1787, Lord Cornwallis, having assumed charge of the Supreme Government, addressed letters to the Peishwa and Nizam Ali, in which although he expressly intimated his determination to take no part in the war between the confederates and Tippoo Sultan, yet the efficiency given to the military establishments of the Company by the new Governor-General, occasioned a bustle and apparent preparation, which

seem to have convinced Tippoo that the designs of the English were decidedly hostile; and may have not merely made him earnest to terminate the war with the confederates, but afforded him some reason for that rancorous hostility which led him to persevere in schemes for annihilating the power of the British nation in India.

The appointment of a Resident at the Peishwa's Court was not more a cause of alarm to Tippoo than of jealousy to Mahadji Sindia. A tardy acquiescence was obtained from the latter to the measure, and in order to reconcile him to it as much as possible, the despatches sent from Poona to the Supreme Government were required to be submitted to Sindia for obtaining his opinion; but Sindia was at this period, and for several years afterwards, too much occupied with his own vast projects in Hindoostan, to be able either to prevent the English from establishing their influence in Poona, or to direct much of his attention to the affairs of the Deccan.

Sindia whom we saw all powerful in Hindoostan, under the sanction of the Emperor's name had preferred a claim for tribute on the Rajputs. It was paid in part at the time, but on a demand being sent in for the balance, the Rajputs rebelled. He had a powerful army, his infantry being commanded and disciplined by M. DeBoigne, but it was weakened by detachments sent against the Sikhs, and the army of the emperor was disaffected. Sindia, notwithstanding, fought an action with the Rajputs, who had been joined by the discontented nobility, at the close of which the Emperor's regular infantry with eighty guns went over to the enemy. This was a severe and unexpected blow; but Sindia met his misfortune with patience and ability, withdrawing for a time to Gwalior, and in this exigency he wrote an eloquent appeal to Nana Furnawees for assistance, as he apprehended that the English were about to form an alliance with the Emperor and

the Rajputs. He pointed out the danger that would ensue to the whole Mahratta empire, by allowing the English to establish their sway over the provinces of Hindoostan, and gain such an influence as they would acquire, if assisted by the weight of the imperial name. He strongly disavowed the feeling of jealousy, and called on Nana, if such did exist towards himself, to erase it from his mind, and to ask Holkar, Hurrypunt and Purshuram Bhow, if he (Sindia) had ever interfered with their views, and if they had not seen that all his endeavours tended to the aggrandisement of the empire. "We serve" continued Sindia, "a common master, let our exertions be directed to the common cause. If you personally entertain jealousy of me, ask yourself who supported you against the factions of Moroba, and put your rival Succaram Bapoo in your power,—who suppressed the insurrection of the pretended Sadashivarao Bhow—beat the English at Tullegaum—maintained a great share in the war against them, and concluded an advantageous peace! Think of these services, banish suspicion, and silence calumniations. Who are our mutual enemies? Let the cause of the Mahratta nation be upheld in Hindoostan, and prevent our empire from being disunited and overthrown." These observations though incorrect with regard to any alliance thus meditated by the English, carried much truth in them; but the grand aim of Nana Furnawees was to cement the Mahratta confederacy under the authority of the Peishwa, and the whole conduct of Sindia had so fully proved that his views were directed to independence if not supremacy in the empire, that Nana, however unwilling to relinquish Mahratta claims in Hindoostan, hesitated as to the mode of re-inforcing Sindia's army. A body of troops had been held in readiness, under Ali Bahadur, son of Shumsheer Bahadur, even prior to Sindia's retreat, but Nana wished to employ them in making a distinct settle-

ment with the Rajput States in the name of the Peishwa, for the purpose of extending the Mahratta influence, without confirming the power of a rival of such inordinate ambition.

It is supposed by some of his countrymen that Nana had some communications with the Raja of Jeypore for the purpose of preserving the Hindoo power, but with a view also of controlling Sindia. The moderation shown by the Rajputs in not molesting Sindia's retreat, is adduced as a proof of this conjecture, and without an absolute rupture with Sindia which was justly considered ruinous to the empire, Nana saw no means of attaining the ascendancy that he desired. Besides the difficulties arising from these considerations, some fresh acts of hostilities on the part of Tippoo, rendered him averse to detach troops from the Deccan. Sindia however, whilst he urged these applications at Poona, was using every exertion to retrieve his affairs by his own resources.

At the period when Sindia returned to Gwalior, (1787), we have observed, that one reason which prevented Nana Furnawees from supporting him with troops from the Deccan, proceeded from fresh aggressions on the part of Tippoo. In fact, the latter scarcely permitted Hurrypunt to recross the Krishna, when he retook Kittor, and an army assembled at Bednore threatened a descent on the Mahratta territory in the Concan. As often happens with respect to the capricious conduct of the natives of India, it is difficult to reconcile this procedure with the reasons which had so recently induced Tippoo to tender hasty proposals of peace. Some of the English from various rumours then in circulation, concluded that it was a deception contrived with consent of Nana Furnawees, preparatory to a general confederacy against the English, in which the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali, Tippoo and the French had become parties. In regard to the Mahrattas, there was no foundation for

this supposition ; but there was reason to believe that Tippoo had revived his engagements with the French, and that his designs were more hostile to the British than to the Mahrattas. But he wished to conceal his real object until he could prepare his army, and obtain effectual assistance from France. Nana Furnawees believed that the invasion of the Mahratta territories was his chief object, and towards the end of the year 1787, proposed to the then Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, through Mr. Malet, to form on the part of the Peishwa a defensive alliance with the English in order to control the overbearing and ambitious spirit of Tippoo. Lord Cornwallis, although impressed with a belief of the great importance of this offer as essential to the safety of British India, was prohibited by an act of Parliament from accepting it, until Tippoo should break through his engagement by some unequivocal act or declaration of hostility ; in declining it therefore, he instructed Mr. Malet to offer general assurances of the sincere desire of the Governor-General to cultivate the friendship of the Peishwa's Government.

In 1788, it was confidently reported that Tippoo was engaged in hostile machinations ; that an attack, which was made on Tellicherry by the Raja of Cherika, was at his instigation ; and that he meditated the subjugation of territories of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British, which formed an important preliminary to the conquest of the British settlements in the south of India.

The reversion of the Guntoor Sirkar, was assigned by the Nizam to the Company by the treaty of 1768, after the death of his brother Basalut Jung. He died in 1782, but the Nizam constantly evaded the surrender. In 1788 however, Captain Kennaway was despatched to Hyderabad to demand the full execution of the treaty of 1768. To the surprise of Lord Cornwallis, the Nizam ordered the immediate surrender of the district, and expressed his confidence

that the company's government would be prepared, with equal alacrity to fulfil the obligations, to which they were bound by it, namely, to send two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Nizam should require them, and to reduce and transfer to him the province of the Carnatic Balaghaut "then usurped by Hyder Naik." The Nizam at the same time sent an envoy to Tippoo to propose an alliance for the extirpation of the English which fell to the ground owing to the arrogance of Tippoo.

Lord Cornwallis, though much perplexed by this manœuvre on the part of the Nizam deemed it important to British interests to secure the co-operation both of the Nizam and the Peishwa against the hostile designs of Tippoo, which were daily becoming more palpable. To meet the difficulties of the case, he addressed a letter to the Nizam, which was avowed to have the full force of a treaty, though it, professed to be simply a clearer definition of the old compact. In this letter, he stated that if the province in question should at any time come in the possession of the company, with the assistance of His Highness, the stipulation of the treaty would be faithfully observed. The brigade troops should be furnished whenever the Nizam would apply for their services, but with the understanding that it was not to be employed against any power in alliance with the English. A list of these powers was added to the document but the name of Tippoo was omitted. Tippoo, therefore, considered it was a treaty of offensive alliance against him. He was now at less pains to conceal his intended invasion of Travancore, and his unsuccessful attack on the lines on the 29th December 1789 was considered to be a declaration of war, as Travancore was an ally of England.

On receiving news of the attack of Travancore, Nana Furnawees who had hitherto treated the friendly advances of Lord Cornwallis with coldness,

immediately offered an alliance with the English against Tippoo, which was accepted and concluded in the month of March 1790. A treaty with the Nizam was also concluded in July of the same year.

This tripartite treaty provided that these two native powers should attack Tippoo's northern possessions during and after the rains, and prosecute the war with all vigour, and reduce as much as possible of his territory; and in case the Governor-General should require the aid of 10,000 horse to co-operate with the English army, that number was also to be furnished within one month from the time of their being demanded, but maintained at the expense of the Company's Government; that the territories and forts conquered by their united arms should be equally divided among them; and if, after the conclusion of peace, Tippoo should attack any of the contracting parties, the others became bound to unite against him.

The first campaign of the English against Tippoo in this war was conducted by General Meadows. It was opened by marching from Trichinopoly at the head of 15,000 men on the 26th May 1790, and terminated by the return of the army to Madras on the 27th January of the following year. The advantages obtained were by no means inconsiderable, but not so great as had been anticipated General Meadows with the Madras army invaded Tippoo's territory from the south, and reduced Caroor, Dindigul, Coimbatoor, and Paulghut; whilst in Malabar Colonel Hartley with the Bombay forces defeated the Mysore General Hoosein Ali, and forced him to surrender, and General Abercrombie had reduced Cannanore, by which means the coast province was secured.

It is unnecessary here to relate in detail the subsequent operations against Tippoo, further than to notice, that Lord Cornwallis, who had now assumed the command of the English army (29th May 1791) deceived Tippoo by his movements, took Bangalore,

and accompanied by the forces of the Nizam, defeated Tippoo at Arikera, and would have taken Seringapatam had the Mahrattas come with their detachment in time. But as things were, Lord Cornwallis was obliged, for want of supplies, to return to Madras. At the very beginning of 1792, he marched once more against Seringapatam. This great fortress was just about to fall when Tippoo attempted to open negotiations, though his first overtures were for various reasons considered inadmissible. At last, in consequence of the more becoming form and tone of his proposals, as also of the intercession of the allies, particularly of Hurrypunt, two Vakeels were admitted to an audience on the 14th February 1792; in the meantime the attack and defence were going forward as if no peace had been meditated. The Vakeels were met by three agents appointed by the allies, Sir John Kennaway on the part of Lord Cornwallis, Bachajee Raghunath on that of Hurrypunt, and Meer Allum on behalf of Sukendeh Jah (the son of Nizam Ali) respectively. After considerable discussion and many references by the Vakeels to their masters, Tippoo finally on the 23rd February consented to cede half the territory that he possessed before the war; to pay 3 crores and 30,000 rupees; one half immediately, and the rest by three equal instalments within a year; to release all prisoners taken since the time of Hyder Ali; and to deliver two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the conditions. An armistice was granted for two days; the hostages had already arrived in the English camp; upwards of one crore of the money had been paid; and the definite treaty was on the point of conclusion, when Tippoo finding that the principality of Coorg was included in the territory he was to cede, loudly remonstrated at yielding what he deemed equivalent to the surrender of one of the gates of Seringapatam, and manifested a disposition to renew hostilities; but the prin-

cipal measures adopted by Lord Cornwallis for renewing the siege, and his declared resolution to give up none of the advantages already secured, constrained Tippoo to reflect on the consequences, and finally to sign the treaty. Without reference to the condition of the former dependants of the Peishwa and Nizam Ali, or to that clause which secured a greater advantage to the party first in the field, the allies received an equal share in the districts ceded by Tippoo, amounting annually to about forty lacs to each, although the Mahrattas had given no assistance in the war, and the Nizam's force had done nothing but consume provisions and forage.

An enquiry into the reasons which induced Lord Cornwallis to refrain from the entire subjugation of Tippoo's territory when he had every means of doing so, is foreign to the subject of this narrative. It is only necessary to mention, that Nana Furnawees and Pursburam Bhow, the parties in the Mahratta army most inimical to Tippoo were averse to the total overthrow of the Mysore state, and Mahadjee Sindia was decidedly hostile to that course of policy. The Mahrattas, however, who were not sensible of the effect on British authorities of public opinion in England, attributed the moderation shown by the Governor-General, to the representations of Hurrypunt Phurkay at the period when Lord Cornwallis was negotiating the alliance against Tippoo. He instructed Major Palmer, the resident with Sindia, to request both Sindia and Holkar to use their influence at Poona for the purpose of effecting the desired connection between the Peishwa and British Government. Sindia had offered to unite in the confederacy against Tippoo, provided two battalions of regular troops were sent to join the army, with which he proposed to march southward, and the British Government became bound to protect his territory in Hindoostan during his absence, and he was assisted in effecting the complete subjugation of the Rajput

States. Lord Cornwallis rejected these terms, upon which he entered into correspondence with Tippoo and Sindia consequently refused to join in the confederacy. In the meanwhile, Sindia was carrying on his operations against the Rajputs, and it was supposed, would have completely subjugated them, but for the opposition and dissensions to which he was exposed from his colleagues, Holkar and Ali Bahadur, which induced him to grant them peace on their agreeing to pay a moderate tribute annually. During these contentions of Sindia with his colleagues, he frequently declared his intention of repairing to Poona for the purpose of obtaining their recal; but Nana's policy in supporting Holkar was well known, and Sindia's situation was deemed too insecure to admit of his venturing on an excursion so distant. When he therefore actually commenced his march to Poona, various were the conjectures which ensued. Some considered, that, jealous of the increasing power of the British, and their influence at Poona and Hydrabad, his views were directed to the establishment of his own authority at Poona for the purpose of preventing the ascendancy which it seemed probable they would obtain, especially if Tippoo's dominions were conquered and partitioned; others supposed that he had views on the territory of Nizam Ali; while some believed that his sole object was to prevent the interference of Holkar in his late acquisitions in Hindoostan.

It is probable that there was some foundation for all these surmises; certain it is that he resolved to proceed thither, much against the wishes of Nana Furnawees, in order to be in a position to take advantage of circumstances, and establish his authority at the Mahratta capital. After the battle of Patan in June 1790, he obtained from the Emperor for the third time, patents constituting the Peishwa "Vakeel-i-Mootluq" or regent of the empire, and Sindia and his descendants, hereditary deputies. It

may serve to give some idea of the prestige which still lingered about the Moghul throne, that, at a time when the Emperor was dependent on Sindia for the daily expenses of his household, such a Sunnud as this was considered an important acquisition in the Deccan.

Sindia's march to the southward was very slow; and he often appeared as if deliberating whether he might venture so far from his own territory. He gave out that he was proceeding to Poona by the Emperor's orders, as bearer of the Sunnuds and insignia of the office of Vakeel-i-Mootluq for the Peishwa. On his arriving at Bhore near the Godavari, charged with such commissions from the Emperor, he made some demands on Nizam Ali, the nature of which is not ascertained; but he endeavoured to induce him to make him a present of the fertile district of Bhore, and bestow Aurungabad on the Peishwa. On being refused, he pretended to be much hurt at his want of courtesy.

Nana Furnawees long doubted whether Sindia would actually come into the Deccan; but on being assured that he was on his route from Burhanpore, he applied to Lord Cornwallis through Hurrypunt Phurkay, for the permanent services of Captain Little's detachment which had done such good service during the war, offering in the name of the Peishwa to subsidise it; but the Governor-General declined assent to his proposal. Sindia was very apprehensive of a connection of that kind; and to allay Nana's well-founded jealousy of his regular infantry, he only brought with him a small party under an Englishman of respectable character named Hessing, and one complete battalion, commanded by Michel Feloze, by birth a Neapolitan, a low illiterate man of worthless character, but of considerable address and cunning. Sindia arrived at Poona on the 11th June 1792, and pitched his camp near the Sangum or the confluence of the Moota and Moola rivers, the place assign-

ed by the Peishwa for the residence of the British envoy and his suite, and in order to exhibit his influence over the imperial house, as well as to gratify the feelings of the Hindoos, he published an edict he had obtained from the Emperor, forbidding the slaughter of bullocks and cows throughout the Moghul dominions.

Nana Furnawees did every thing in his power to prevent the Peishwa's acceptance of the titles and insignia brought from the Emperor. He represented the impropriety of adopting some of the titles and insignia, especially that of Maharaj Adhiraj (the greatest of great Rajas), which was inconsistent with the constitution of the existing government of the Mahratta empire. But Sindia had brought a large variety of rarities with him from Hindoostan, which delighted the fancy of the young prince, and the formal sanction for the acceptance of these honours by the Peishwa was obtained from the Raja of Sattara, and a day was fixed for the investiture. Nine days after his arrival, Nana Furnawees visited Sindia, who received him in the most cordial manner, refused to sit on his Musnud in the minister's presence, and treated him with the greatest respect. Sindia spared no pains to render the ceremony as imposing as possible. A grand suite of tents was pitched in the vicinity of the town, and the Peishwa proceeded towards them with the greatest pomp. At the farthest end of the great tent of the state a throne intended to represent that of the Emperor of the Moghuls was erected, on which were displayed the imperial firman, the Khillut or dresses of investiture, and all the principal insignia. The Peishwa on approaching the throne made his obeisance thrice, placed one hundred and one gold mohurs upon it as a Nuzur or offering, and took his seat on the left (Marshman puts "right" instead of "left"). Sindia's Persian secretary then read the Imperial firman, and amongst others the edict forbidding the slaughter of bul-

locks and cows. The Peishwa then received the Khilluts consisting of nine articles of dresses, five superb ornaments of jewels and feathers, a sword and shield; a pencase, a seal and inkstand, and two royal morchuls or fans of peacock's tails, accompanied by a nalkee, (a sort of Sedan chair without a top, having four poles, two behind and two before, never used but by the Emperor or persons of the highest rank) a Palanquin or Palkhee, a horse and an elephant; besides six elephants bearing the imperial standard, two crescents, two stars, and the orders of the Fish and of the Sun.

The Peishwa retired to an adjoining tent, and returned clothed in the imperial Khillut, and having resumed his seat, Sindia followed by Nana Furnawees and such of the Peishwa's officers as were present, offered nuzurs of congratulation. When the Peishwa arose to return to his palace, he was followed by Sindia and Hurrypunt carrying the morchuls and fanning him. He entered Poona seated in the nalkee; the concourse of people assembled to witness the procession was exceedingly great, and the pomp and grandeur displayed was beyond anything that the inhabitants of Poona had ever seen; whilst the clang of thousands of musical instruments, the shouts of the populace, volleys of musketry, and salvos of cannon, seemed to give all the effect that the projector of the State ceremony could possibly desire. It was on this occasion that Sindia exhibited one of the most extraordinary specimens of mock humility recorded in Indian history. It should be remembered that three months before this time, Tippoo had been stripped of half his dominions, and that Sindia was now the most powerful native prince in India, and master of an army composed of sixteen battalions of regular infantry, five hundred pieces of cannon and a hundred thousand horse. But he dismounted from his elephant at the gates of Poona, and in the great hall of audience placed himself below all the heredit-

ary nobles of the State. The Peishwa entered the room, and desired him to take his seat among the highest dignitaries, when he replied that he was unworthy of that honour, and untying a bundle which he carried under his arm, produced a pair of slippers which he put before him, saying, "This is my occupation; it was that of my father" and reluctantly took the seat prepared for him.

The investiture of Sindia by the Peishwa, as Deputy to the Vakeel-i-Mootluq, immediately followed on their arrival at the Peishwa's palace. But on this occasion and on several others, the pretended humility of Sindia gave disgust, when he insisted on being considered as the hereditary servant of the Peishwa, entitled only to carry slippers, and to be addressed by no higher title than that of Patel. Though this affectation was meant to be in conformity with Mahratta taste, it failed in effect. No Brahmin of education was pleased or deceived by such course of self disparagement, and the old Mahratta, though Mahadji Sindia had purchased some hereditary privileges in the Deccan, would much more readily have acknowledged his new imperial titles, viz., that of Raja, Maharaja, Mudar-Ool-Muham, Ali Jah Bahadur, than have assigned to him the appellation of Patel, a distinction which they considered due only to the legitimate Sindia, Patel of Kunneirkheir. The Mankarees, and those cavaliers who considered themselves the old officers of the Rajas of Sattara, though some among them could scarcely term the horse he rode his own, refused to enter the imperial tents with the Peishwa, nor would they present nuzurs to him as Vakeel-i-Mootluq, because the representatives of the ancient Mahratta families viewed the reception of honours from a pageant emperor with dissatisfaction and contempt. Nuzurs were however presented to Sindia by his officers on returning to his camp, but the feeling amongst his countrymen which was to strong too escape his notice,

proved to him the necessity of much caution in future in the prosecution of his designs.

His principal object was to gain the confidence of the young Peishwa, to which the rarities which he had brought from Hindoostan, and the splendid spectacle with which he had been gratified, paved the way. Besides this, Madhoorao Peishwa, a high spirited and generous youth, was delighted with Sindia whom he found to be frank, and unreserved in his manners and the intercourse with him was therefore very different in nature and far more agreeable than the sedate and grave observance of decorum habitual to his guardian and minister Nana, and Sinida soon became his constant companion. Parties to the country in the neighbourhood of Poona constantly took place, to which the young prince was invited, and Nana thought it advisable to give his assent, although he clearly saw the design of Sindia, and watched his proceedings so vigilantly that it was difficult for him to find opportunities of conversing with Madhoorao unobserved. When they did occur, Sindia never failed to comment on the manner in which he was treated, and to assure him that he had both the power and inclination to render him independent of such tutelage. But although Madhoorao readily entered into every scheme of pleasure suggested by Sindia, his natural good disposition and judgment rendered it by no means easy to shake his confidence in Nana Furnawees, and at first he combated Sindia's arguments with warmth. But the customary restraints before unfelt, began to be irksome, and Sindia's society proportionably more desirable.

Sindia's public affairs at the Durbar seemed principally to refer to Hindoostan. He represented the large sums he had spent in extending the empire, and procuring such honours and dignities for the Peishwa. He petitioned for the payment of his expenses, the entire management of the affairs in Hindoostan, and finally for the recall of Holkar and Ali Bahadur. In

reply to these the minister always demanded in the first instance an account of the revenue of those districts which he had subdued so easily, and had enjoyed so long. Much discussion on these subjects took place, and many circumstances occurred tending to strengthen the mutual jealousy of Sindia and Nana. They, however, maintained for some time an outward appearance of civility and respect, though plotting each other's destruction, whilst their respective parties in Hindostan, though engaged in service together in the Rajput country, were almost in a state of open rupture.

Subsequently to the surrender of Canoond, which happened before Sindia reached Poona, Holkar's and Sindia's armies had been engaged together in levying tribute in the Rajput territory, and had taken two forts, but quarrelled about the division of the spoils. DeBogne, Sindia's general, with twenty thousand horse and nine thousand regular infantry, fell on Holkar's army consisting of thirty thousand horse and four regular battalions, which was completely defeated. Holkar retreated with the wreck of his army into Malwa, and on his route in impotent rage sacked and burnt Oojin, the capital of his rival. When these accounts reached Poona, the ostensible cordiality of Sindia and the Court was for a time obstructed, and precautions were adopted by both parties as if apprehensive of personal violence. Nana Furnawees called in the aid of Pursharam Bhow, who arrived with two thousand horse. This imprudent reinforcement furnished Sindia with a greater pretext of greatly increasing the parties of Hessing and Filoze, who had accompanied him, and for bringing down one of his infantry brigades, but as neither party was desirous of attaining their ends by prosecuting the war, positive instructions were despatched to their respective officers to refrain from hostilities, and to await the pacific settlement of their disputes by orders from the Peishwa (1793).

The result of the battle with Holkar rendered Sindia all powerful in Hindoostan, but he was conscious of his unpopularity in the Deccan, and strove to overcome it. With this view, he had on his arrival at Poona, espoused the cause of Govindrao Gaekwar in a manner which will hereafter be explained; and on one occasion when Nana Furnawees during the minority of the Punt Suchiva assumed charge of his lands, Sindia, who knew that the proceeding met with general disapprobation, interposed, conveyed the Suchiva to Poona in opposition to the orders of the minister, re-established him in his possessions, and dismissed Bajirao Moreshwar, the agent whom Nana had placed in charge of the Suchiva territory. This daring interference gave rise to a quarrel which was with difficulty appeased by the mediation of Hurrypunt Phurkay; but fresh disputes arose in consequence of Sindia's more undisguised attempts to induce the Peishwa to seek his protection. What might have been the result of these movements it is difficult to conjecture; but at a crisis when Nana, despairing of recovering his authority, had besought the Peishwa to allow him to retire to Benares, and when the Peishwa being affected by this request of his minister begged his forgiveness and promised to be more guarded in his conduct, Mahadjee Sindia died of fever at Wurolee or Wunowlee near Poona on February 12, 1794. He was a man of great political sagacity, and considerable genius, of deep artifice, restless ambition and implacable revenge. Mahadjee Sindia left no issue, but had declared Dowlutrao, the son of his youngest nephew Anundrao, the third son of his brother Tukojee who fell at Panipat, to be his heir; and this election, though it had not been confirmed by formal adoption, was assented to by the whole of the confederate Mahratta chieftains. At that time Dowlutrao was less than fifteen years of age, and consequently could not take part in public affairs. Nana Furnawees,

therefore, continued to exercise, now without interruption, the whole authority of the Mahratta nation.

We have already noticed the nature of the claims on Nizam Ali ; they were the outstanding balances for a series of years on account of Chouth and Sardeshmukh. Discussions had occasionally been agitated on the subject by the Mahrattas for the ten last years, but the alliance in which they had been associated against Tippoo had enabled Nizam Ali to procrastinate, and prevent the Mahrattas from insisting on a settlement of their affairs. In 1791 Govindrao Kale and Govindrao Pingale, the Peishwa's envoys at the court of Hydrabad, formally requested that Nizam Ali would appoint commissioners for investigating and adjusting the claims of their master. After considerable discussion, Nizam Ali delivered to these envoys a set of demands under 34 separate heads, chiefly regarding contributions unjustly exacted, and the revenue of different places improperly taken or withheld by the Mahrattas. He also demanded reparation on account of damage sustained by the inroads of Pindarees residing within the Peishwa's boundary. To all these satisfactory replies, drawn up with remarkable clearness and ability by Nana Furnawees were promptly returned, followed by a set of articles 28 in number demanding the adjustment of the Mahratta claims, some of which Nana proved to have existed since 1774.

Nizam Ali was compelled to acknowledge some of these demands, others he evaded ; but he promised in general terms to appoint some person to settle the whole as soon as the war with Tippoo had terminated, hoping by that time to obtain the interposition of the English. The treaty of alliance with the Nizam and the Mahrattas by Lord Cornwallis, in 1790, stipulated "that each of the contracting parties should assist the others in future if attacked by Tippoo." At the close of the war in 1792, Lord Cornwallis was anxious that the grounds, on which the allied powers could de-

mand mutual support against Tippoo, should be distinctly defined. He accordingly sent the draft of a "treaty of guarantee." to Poona and Hydrabad, in which he proposed that if any differences should arise between any of the confederates and Tippoo, the nature and circumstances should be communicated to the others, and that they should not be bound to take up arms till they were convinced that he had justice on his side, and that every effort for conciliation had been exhausted. The Nizam saw in it a disposition to assist him, and hoped to realize his meditated scheme of raising a barrier between himself and the Mahrattas, so that he might not only resist their future encroachments, but also evade the present demands. At all events he had no doubt of obtaining a settlement, such as Hyder had effected with the Mahrattas, by paying a fixed tribute, and from which Tippoo by the late treaty was completely absolved. The Mahrattas, on the other hand, declined any engagements which might in any measure interfere with their designs on the Nizam. Mahadji Sindia was then at Poona, exercising a powerful influence in the councils of the state. He denounced the proposed treaty as an arrogant assumption of authority. Nana Furnawees, who however, was anxious to cultivate a good understanding with the English as a check on Sindia, without giving a direct refusal, prolonged the discussion, though with no intention of assenting to what was proposed.

Sir John Shore succeeded to the charge of the Government of British India, on the departure of the Marquis of Cornwallis in 1793. The treaty of general guarantee was not pushed forward by him because he was resolved to submit obsequiously to an Act of Parliament, which discountenanced native alliances.

From the period when the demands of the Mahrattas were formally renewed, whilst negotiations for the treaty of guarantee were in progress, Nizam Ali, probably without imagining that actual hostilities

would take place, had been increasing his military force. A body of regular infantry which, during the war with Tippoo, had consisted of two battalions under a respectable French officer named Raymond, were increased to twenty-three battalions. His army was much augmented after Mahadji Sindia's death, and he hoped in consequence, of that event, the Mahrattas might be easily satisfied, and successfully resisted, even if he should not be able to obtain the interposition of the English. When the envoy Govindrao Kale renewed his master's demands, he produced a detailed statement, shewing a balance in his favour of nearly two crores and sixty lacks, or twenty-six millions of rupees. Warm discussions took place between the envoy and Musheer-ool-Moolkh, when at last the former was told, in public durbar, that Nana Furnawees must himself attend at the court of Hydrabad, in order to afford an explanation of the different items of their intricate claims. The envoy replied, "Nana Furnawees, is much engaged, how can he come?" "How can he come?" re-echoed Moosheer-ool-Moolkh, "I will soon shew how he shall be brought to the presence." This menace was considered a sufficient declaration, and although negotiations continued till the last, both parties prepared to decide their differences by the sword.

The war whilst still at a distance, was extremely popular amongst the Moghuls. The grand army of 110,000 men under Nizam Ali's personal command was assembled at Bedar, and the camp exhibited much bustle and animation. The Moghuls were over-confident of success. Even their prime minister declared in a public assembly that, "The Moghuls should now be freed from Mahratta encroachments; that they should recover Bijapur and Khandesh, or they would never grant peace, until they had despatched the Peishwa to Benares, with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hands, to mutter incantations on the banks of the Ganges."

To assemble a Mahratta army when there was a prospect of plunder had never presented any difficulty. On the present occasion the young Peishwa resolved to accompany the expedition, and summoned all the feudatories, into the field; and it proved to be the last time they were mustered under the national standard. The whole Mahratta army including the detachments sent by Sindia, Holkar, the Raja of Berar, Gaekwar and the great Southern Jahagirdars was estimated at 130,000 horse and foot and 150 pieces of cannon. It was accompanied by Nana Furnawees.

Nizam Ali was the first in the field and slowly advanced from Beder along the banks of the Manjera towards the Mahratta frontier. The Peishwa quitted Poona, in January 1795, and the two armies approached each other on the 10th March.

Nana Furnawees after consulting the chief officers appointed Pursharam Bhow to act as Commander-in-Chief. It is needless to follow the details of the marches of the Mahratta plundering horse and regular army, suffice it to say, that on the 11th March, Nizam Ali having been completely defeated at Kurdla solicited and obtained a cessation of arms, on the 13th. The Mahrattas demanded territorial cessions of the value of 35 lacks of rupees a year, together with an indemnity of three crores of rupees, one third to be paid down immediately, as well as the surrender of Musheer-ool-Moolkh, his chief minister and the ablest man at his court, on the pretext that amends must be made for the insulting language he had used in reference to Nana Furnawees. With these hard conditions the Nizam was constrained to comply, and he affixed his signature to the humiliating treaty on the 13th March 1795. Besides the above, by a separate agreement, Nizam Ali ceded territory yielding three lakhs and eighteen thousand rupees, in lieu of Raghoojee Bhonslay's claims for Ghasdava, in Gungthuree, estimated at three and-a-half lakhs annually. Nizam Ali like-

wise promised to pay up the arrears due to Raghoojee Bhonslay, amounting to twenty-nine lakhs, and to collect their respective shares of revenue in Berar, according to ancient usage, for all which the Peishwa afterwards became Raghoojee's guarantee.

It was with extreme reluctance that Nizam Ali agreed to surrender the person of his minister; but Musheer-ool-Moolk urged him to the measure, especially as under the circumstances in which they found themselves, they did not consider the other conditions so immoderate as might have been expected.

The minister was therefore delivered over to a party of two hundred Mahrattas, by whom he was escorted to their camp. The Peishwa met him at the outskirts, and received him with deliberation, but his person was carefully guarded. The Mahrattas were overjoyed by this triumph, but a remark of the young Peishwa, when rallied by Nana Furnawees on the melancholy which his countenance betrayed at the time of Musheer-ool-Moolk's arrival, was as just as it was interesting: "I grieve, said he, to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Moghuls, and our soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without an effort." There were scarcely two hundred men lost by both these two great armies in the engagement, though considerable numbers of the Moghuls were killed in the subsequent confusion, but to this day it is one of the greatest boasts of the old Sillidars in the Mahratta villages, that they were present in the glorious field of Kurdla

On the return of the Peishwa to Poona, Nana Furnawees was employed in distributing the late acquisition, and in settling various affairs with the different Mahratta chiefs. By the success of the recent campaign, Nana Furnawees had gained the summit of his wishes without the intervention of a foreign power; he had restored the Mahratta supremacy in the Deccan, and gratified the Mahratta

chiefs with plunders. Dowlutrao Sindia manifested the greatest deference to him; the Raja of Berar, and the great Brahmin feudatories were entirely subservient to him. He was without a rival in the Mahratta commonwealth; but his love of power and his anxiety to monopolize it, gave rise to an event which brought him to the grave in misery and disgrace.

Although the young Peishwa was now (1795) in his twenty-first year, Nana Furnawees relaxed nothing of the rigid tutelage under which he had reared him; and the old minister became more than ever watchful of all the state prisoners whose liberty might endanger his own power. He was apprehensive that Mahadjee Sindia had intended to use the Raja of Sattara as an instrument in overthrowing the Brahmin's Government, and he now treated the object of his dread with more than ordinary severity by diminishing his allowances, and prohibiting his relations from visiting him in the fort of Sewneree.

The family of Raghunathrao were kept at Kopergaum until the year 1793, when they were removed to Anundwelee near Nassick, as being a place more agreeable to the widow Anundibai, whose health was on the decline. In the month of April of the succeeding year she died. The sons, Bajirao and Chimnajee Appa with the adopted son of Raghoba Amrutrao, remained at Anundwelee; until, upon the prospect of hostilities with Nizam Ali, they were conveyed to the hill fort of Sewneree, where once secured, Nana Furnawees, at the termination of the war, retained them in close custody under two of his most confidential officers, Raghopunt Ghorebulay and Bulwantrao Raghunath.

Even those who thought it necessary to keep the sons of Raghoba in custody execrated the rigour, cruelty and vindictiveness on the part of Nana with which it was enforced. But these

indications of the public mind only increased the wary circumspection of the minister, and the elder of the legitimate sons of Raghunathrao early became an object of jealousy to Nana. Graceful in person, with a handsome and youthful countenance which ensured favourable impressions, Bajirao had the mildest manner, and an address so insinuating that he gained the goodwill of all who approached him; his bodily and mental accomplishments were equally extolled; at the age of nineteen he was an excellent horseman, skilled in the use of the sword and bow, and allowed to be a most expert spearsman in Gungthuree. He was deeply read in the Shastras, particularly in such parts as regard the observances of east; and, of his age, no Pundit so learned had been known in Maharashtra.

The young Peishwa, so far from being jealous of the superior accomplishments of his cousin, was pleased with hearing him commended, and frequently expressed a strong desire to procure his enlargement and cultivate his friendship. In vain did the cautious Nana Furnawees advise him to beware of the sapling, however comely, which sprung from the weakness of Raghunathrao and the wickedness of Anundibai; the greater the restraint the stronger became the inclination; but Madhoorao was watched, and Bajirao was a close prisoner. The latter, however, having discovered the favourable disposition of the Peishwa towards him, and having at length gained over Bulwantrao Raghunath, he conveyed a message with assurances of respect and attachment, adding that "he was in confinement at Sewneree, and the Peishwa under the control of his minister; that their condition as prisoners was nearly the same, but that their minds and affections were free, and should be devoted to each other; that their ancestors had distinguished themselves, and that the time would arrive, when his cousin and himself might hope to emulate their deeds and raise for

themselves a lasting and honourable name." This message was the commencement of a correspondence which began shortly after the return of the army to Poona, and continued for some time, till at length it came to the knowledge of Nana, who betrayed a rage altogether unusual at the discovery. He immediately threw Bulwantrão Raghunath into a hill fort, loaded with irons, severely reproached Madhoorao, and rendered the strictness of Bajirao's confinement far more rigid than before. Madhoorao, already galled by restraint, and irritated by the insidious messages of his cousin, was overwhelmed with anger, disappointment and grief. He refused absolutely to quit his apartment, and his absence from his usual place at the durbar was imputed to fever. On the Dussera day which happened to fall on the 22nd October he was conducted with great splendour; he appeared amongst his troops, and in the evening received his chiefs and the ambassadors at his Court in the usual manner. But his spirit was wounded to desperation, a fixed melancholy seized on his mind, and on the morning of the 25th of October 1795, he deliberately threw himself from a terrace of his palace, fractured two of his limbs, and was much wounded by the tube of a fountain on which he fell. He desired that Bajirao should succeed him; he expired in the arms of Baboorao Phurkay, for whom he had entertained a strong affection.

The death of Madhoorao was an event of such awful importance to the political existence of Nana Furnawees, that the consideration of its consequences withdrew his mind from the deep affliction which the untimely end of that amiable young prince would have disposed him to indulge. Immediately after this catastrophe, he assembled the Mahratta chiefs, carefully suppressed the dying bequest of the young Peishwa in favour of Bajirao, hinted at the popular prejudice which existed against the name of Raghunathrao, described the enmity against

all the officers of the late Peishwa instilled into Bajirao by his mother, dwelt upon the state of prosperity and union of the Mahratta empire, saying, that the same would continue if the existing course of policy were preserved, and finally proposed that Yeshwadabai, the widow of the late Peishwa who had not yet arrived at the age of womanhood, should be required to adopt a son in whose name he promised to conduct the government as heretofore. This proposal was opposed by Baloba Tatia one of the principal ministers of Sindia ; but he was silenced by his colleague in office Jooba Bukshee, who observed that during the minority of their master they should be guided by the experience of the oldest chiefs, particularly that of Tookajee Holkar. At length, after some discussion, the consent of the principal chiefs, was obtained in writing, and in the month of January 1796, they again retired from Poona.

In the preceding November, Mr. Malet the resident on the part of the British Government, had made a formal application to the minister for the purpose of ascertaining on what footing the Mahratta Government was to be conducted. Nana Furnawees replied, that the widow of the late Peishwa was to be considered head of the empire, until the great officers of the nation had deliberated upon the succession, when the result would be communicated to him. Accordingly, he now intimated their resolution that the widow should adopt a son, to which no objection on the part of Mr. Malet could be offered, and nothing was now apparently wanting, except the selection of a child, and the performance of the ceremony. But Bajirao on receiving intimation of this plot, which if successful, would have deprived him of his right, opened a correspondence with Sindia, (who had changed his mind at the advice which Jooba Bukhshee gave him just before his death), and with the consent of his minister Baloba Tatia, offered him

Jahageers of the value of four lacs of rupees a year, if he would support his claim to the succession.

The offer was accepted, a formal agreement was drawn up, but it was scarcely concluded, when the plot was divulged to Nana Furnawees. In the greatest alarm, that minister instantly summoned Pursharam Bhow, who marched from Tasgaum to Poona with a body of horse in forty-eight hours, a distance of upwards of 120 miles. After some deliberation, Nana Furnawees resolved to circumvent Sindia by releasing Bajirao, of his own accord, and declaring him Peishwa. Pursharam Bhow accordingly, proceeded to the fort of Sewneree, and made his proposals. Amrutrao advised his brother not to accept them; and Bajirao did not believe in the words of Pursharam Bhow till he had obliged him to hold the tail of a cow, and swear by the holy Godavery, that no deception was intended; after which he descended from the fort, and, accompanied by his brother Chimnaji Appa, set out for his future capital. Amrutrao, by Pursharam Bhow's orders was detained in custody at Sewneree.

Immediately, on Bajirao's arrival at Poona, he was reconciled to Nana whom he engaged to maintain as his minister. To this agreement both parties exchanged formal declarations in writing. The following is a translation of the declaration which was given by Bajirao to Nana Furnawees: "In the presence of my god, and from the inmost recesses of my heart, I have rooted out every vestige of my former act; let all our future conduct be guided by the principles of good faith. I will never injure you or yours, by word or deed; by any inward thought or outward act; neither will I allow any other person to do so; on this point I will be inflexible, and will pay no attention to the suggestions of others. I will not allow your reputation to be sullied, and should any one attempt to instil anything of the kind into my mind, I will point him

out to you. I will never release any one from confinement without your advice; all state affairs shall be managed by our conjunct counsel. From this day all your acts are mine: suspicion is wholly eradicated from my heart."

Baloba Tatia on hearing of the step which Bajirao had taken, was incensed at his conduct, and determined to counteract the schemes of Nana Furnawees. He, therefore, persuaded Sindia, then on the banks of the Godavery, to march on Poona with his whole force. Nana Furnawees, who was as remarkable for political talent as for personal cowardice, told Bajirao that as Sindia was advancing with intentions hostile only towards himself, he thought the best means of averting ruinous civil dissentions was for him to retire from business, and withdraw from the capital, notwithstanding Pursharam Bhow's advice to the contrary. He accordingly repaired first to Purundhar, and afterwards to Sattara. Baloba, now master of the situation, proposed to Pursharam Bhow, through Bhyropunt Mhaindlee, that Madhoorao's widow should adopt Chimnaji Appa as her son; that Bajirao should be placed in confinement, and that Pursharam Bhow should conduct the administration. Pursharam Bhow had begun to despise Nana Furnawees for his pusillanimous conduct, but he still so far respected his wisdom, as to ask his opinion. Nana advised him to accept what was proposed, but to take care that Bajirao came into his custody. To this last essential part of the advice, no attention was paid by Pursharam Bhow. Baloba Tatia pretended to be partly influenced in the measure he now pursued, by the hope of rendering it in some degree acceptable to Nana Furnawees, lest the latter, in the present state of Dowlutrao's inexperience, should form some confederacy, by means of the other chiefs, against the house of Sindia. Baloba accordingly, as soon as Nana's assent

had been obtained, made overtures for a reconciliation, to which the latter made no objection.

Nana's own proceedings deserve notice. When he quitted Purandhur and repaired to Sattara, he entertained some design of emancipating the Raja, and restoring the old form of the government of Shivaji, as a plan calculated to avert the dissensions that had arisen, and which were likely to increase in the state; but a very few days convinced him of the futility of this scheme. The Raja, in consequence of the treatment he had experienced, had no confidence in him. The Raja's name was sufficiently popular to have brought many of the most warlike Mahratta families to his standard, and to have awakened a powerful interest amongst the descendants of the first followers of Shivaji, residing in the wilds of the Mawuls and Khoras. The Raja, though incapable of conducting state affairs himself, was a man of courage, and several of his relations were fit leaders for any desperate enterprise. But Nana's object was to devise some means of establishing a controlling authority over the chiefs of the empire, not to stir up a power subversive of all order. After a few conferences he desisted, and retired to Waee, a town in the neighbourhood, but his having entertained such a scheme, was so far fortunate for the Raja, that he was indulged in a little more liberty, and was treated with greater kindness and consideration.

Nana Furnawees having consented to the proposal of Baloba Tatia for adopting Chimnaji Appa, it became necessary to obtain the Raja's Khilut of investiture for the new Peishwa; for which purpose, Nana came from Waee to Sattara, and on receiving the Khilut, promised, that if he ever had an opportunity, he would endeavour to fulfil the agreement made with Ram Raja in the time of Ballaji Bajirao, by putting the present Raja Shahu in possession of the territory promised by the treaty of Sangola.

Nana would have proceeded to Poona personally but on finding that Pursharam Bhow had allowed Sindia's minister to retain the person of Bajirao, he suspected and with good reason, that the whole was a scheme to entice him into the power of Baloba Tatia; and, therefore, he merely forwarded the Khilut, and returned to Waee.

Bajirao was still ignorant of the plot which had been formed against him, and the manner of disclosing it is too characteristic, not only of the period but also of the ways of the Poona court, to be omitted. Some demands for money on account of Sindia's expenses were made on Bajirao, and upon his expressing inability to comply with them, they were urged in a tone which produced altercation, and Sindia, pretending, to take offence at the manner of Bajirao's refusal, begged permission to return to Hindoostan. Bajirao, soon after repaired to Sindia's camp where he was detained in argument until late in the evening, when the conference was suddenly interrupted by intelligence of Pursharam Bhow's having carried off Chimnajee Appa. Bajirao wanted to pursue Pursharam Bhow, but found that he was himself prisoner in Sindia's hands. In the meantime; Pursharam Bhow and Baboorao Phurkay had merely conveyed Chimnajee Appa into the city of Poona, and caused the ceremony of adoption to be performed in spite of his protests against the usurpation of his brother's rights, and his own oath to Bajirao to protect him. Chimnajee Appa, was accordingly, invested as Peishwa under the name of Chimnajee Madhoorao on May 26, 1796.

At this time the pecuniary difficulties of Sindia were so great that at his instance, Pursharam Bhow, now at the head of the government, immediately released the minister of the Nizam, Musheer-ool-Moolk who had been held as a hostage for fourteen months since the battle of Kurdla, on his

promising to endeavour to get a portion of the three crores of rupees due by the treaty of Kurdla.

The great object of all the parties in power at Poona at this time was to get possession of the person of Nana. Pursharam Bhow, therefore, proposed that Nana Furnawees should come to Poona, meet and be reconciled to Baloba Tatia, and afterwards assume the civil administration in the Peishwa's government, whilst the command of the troops and all military arrangements should remain with himself. In reply to this proposal, Nana Furnawees requested that Pursharam Bhow's eldest son Hurrypunt, might be sent to Waee for the purpose of clearly settling the preliminaries ; but instead of coming as an envoy, Hurrypunt crossed the Neera at the head of 4,000 or 5,000 chosen horse, a circumstance that naturally in itself excited suspicion, which was confirmed by a secret letter from Baboorao Phudkay advising him to seek his own safety without a moment's delay.

The fortunes of Nana Furnawees were now in general opinion and perhaps in his own, desperate, but on being forced to abandon half measures, into which he was misled through his timid disposition, the vigour of his judgment, the fertility of his expedients, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments which he called into action surprised all India, and from his European contemporaries procured for him the name of the "Mahratta Machiavel."

When he saw the danger imminent, he immediately fled from Waee towards the Concan, blocked up the passes in his rear, and on arriving at the village of Mhar, his first care was to put the fort of Raighur into the best state of defence. Baloba Tatia proposed that he should be followed up without delay, and offered some of Sindia's regular infantry for the purpose, but Pursharam Bhow influenced by secret well-wishers of Nana, objected to the em-

ployment of coercive measures, although his hostility to Nana Furnawees was soon after avowed by his giving up Nana's Jahageer lands to Sindia, and sequestrating his houses and property in Poona for his own use The ostensible property of Nana Furnawees however, bore but an insignificant proportion to the extent of his concealed wealth. It was a common report that he carried with him when he quitted Poona, hoards of gold, the accumulated treasures of the Peishwas, but as already stated on the authority of their accounts, the Peishwas up to the time of the first Madhoorao were in debt, and were always embarrassed, so that the riches of Nana Furnawees which were, without doubt considerable, must have been saved during his own administration. His funds were secretly deposited in different places or lodged in the hands of agents in various parts of India, so that he could command them with promptitude in case of emergency ; but the secret of their deposit, and of his management, remains a mystery, a subject of curiosity, and the theme of many wonders and impositions amongst the Mahratta vulgar.

A common danger turns enemies into friends. So it was with Nana and Bajirao. After the adoption of Chimnajee, a secret intercourse was carried on between them through the medium of an individual who afterwards became conspicuous. This was Ballagee Koonjar, who was in the service of Bajirao since his liberation from Sewneree. He, perceiving the situation of affairs although he had little opportunity of consulting his master, visited Nana Furnawees at Mhar, and conveyed the most friendly declarations and assurances on the part of Bajirao, begging Nana to exert himself in their mutual behalf. No excitement to exertion was necessary. Nana Furnawees had every engine at work ; Baboorao Phudkay, who was in command of the Peishwa's household-troops, had engaged to bring them over to him. Tookajee

Holkar's whole power and influence were ready at his signal, and he had opened the negotiation with Sindia through Ryojee Patel, whom he knew to be inimical to Baloba Tatia, offering to Sindia the Jahageer of Pursharam Bhow Putwardhan, the fort of Ahmednuggur with territory yielding ten lacs of rupees, on condition that he would throw Baloba Tatia into confinement, establish Bajirao on the Musnad, and return with his army to Hindoostan. Thus far of his plans, Nana Furnawees communicated to Ballajee Koonjar for Bajirao's information. This period of the revolution brought many persons into notice, although none so obscure as the individual just mentioned. Of these, one of the most conspicuous was the person employed by Nana Furnawees to negotiate with Ryojee Patel in order to gain over Sindia ; the name of this man was Succaram Ghatgay of the Kagul family, whose ancient title as already mentioned, was Shirzeerao, and who being defeated by a relation of his had taken command of 100 horse successively under Pursharam Bhow, Nana and Sindia. He had great influence with Sindia who wished to espouse his beautiful daughter. By the aid of such an agent, Nana Furnawees was successful in gaining over Sindia to his cause ; and this secret having been communicated to Baboorao Phudkay and others of the party, they became less circumspect in their preparation. Bajirao in the midst of Sindia's camp assisted by his father's friend, Sitaram Phudkay, used supplies of money furnished by Nana Furnawees, in levying troops in that situation. Bajirao at this time was twenty-five years of age, light complexioned and rather above the middle size, his person graceful, and his manner strongly impressive, his countenance manly, sensible and majestic.

Baloba, the inveterate foe of Nana, having received some intimation of these schemes, succeeded in imprisoning Baboorao Phudkay, while his karkoon Naroo-

punt Chuckurdeo fled to the camp of Musheer-ool-Moolk which was in the neighbourhood of Poona. Other chiefs of the party of Nana fled to the strongholds on the range of hills south of the Neera. The troops which Bajirao had collected whilst encamped within Sindia's lines were ordered to disperse, but having repaired to Waee, they were ordered by Nana to take their position at the Salpee Ghaut, where their number being raised to 10,000, they declared for Bajirao.

Baloba Tatia, unconscious of the inextricable and extensive toils which Nana was weaving around him, attributed the whole plot to Bajirao, and therefore determined to send him off a prisoner to Hindoostan. He was despatched accordingly under the charge of Succaram Ghatgay; Bajirao now intrigued with him, and persuaded him to give his beautiful daughter in marriage to Sindia, who had become enamoured of her, on condition that Sindia should grant him his liberty and his crown. Ghatgay consented to what Bajirao proposed on condition that Bajirao should authorize him to promise Sindia two crores of rupees in ready money on his becoming Peishwa; that when Peishwa, he should get him (Ghatgay) appointed Sindia's Prime Minister, and that he should also endeavour to obtain for him the village of Kagul in Enam. This being agreed to, Bajirao feigned illness, and did not proceed.

The schemes of Nana were now matured. He had entered into an engagement with the Nizam, generally known as the treaty of Mhar, dated the 8th of October 1796, by which it was provided that a body of 15,000 Hydrabad troops and a train of artillery should be sent to assist in establishing Bajirao as Peishwa and Nana as minister, and that, in return for this assistance, the territory which the Nizam had been constrained to cede to the Mahrattas should be restored, and the balance of the indemnity remitted. He had secured the co-operation of Ra-

ghojee Bhonslay and Holkar. The English had signified through their representative, their recognition of the claims of Bajirao. He had gained over Sindia by the promise of Pursharam Bhow's jahageer worth ten lacs of rupees a year, the fort of Ahmednugar and the dependent districts, and on the 27th of October 1796, that chief commenced the revolution by seizing his own minister Baloba.

Pursharam Bhow having taken with him Chimnajee Appa, fled precipitately to Sewneree, but was quickly pursued, and compelled to surrender. Anundrao Rastia having become security for his safe custody, he was delivered over to his charge; Bajirao was now brought back, and encamped at Korygaum on the Bheema, eighteen miles from Poona. Anundrao and Baboorao Phudkay were released, and Nana Furnawees, having joined his army at the Salpee Ghaut, the infantry under Mr Boyd having likewise placed themselves under his orders, commenced his march for the capital. But enroute, having received a note from Bajirao which hinted at the tardiness of his proceedings, he immediately took the alarm, and before he would advance, insisted on receiving a written declaration from Bajirao that he intended no treachery towards him, and that in the event of his desiring to resign his situation as minister, he might be permitted to retire, at any place where his person and property would be secure. A treaty of guarantee was at the same time, entered into by Nizam Ali and Sindia, agreeing to establish Bajirao on the Musnad, and to reinstate Nana Furnawees as prime minister; but they also, with a view of securing themselves, agreed to oblige the latter to fulfil the articles of the respective treaties which he had made with them; an extraordinary oversight on the part of Sindia; who does not appear to have known the particulars of the agreement with Nizam Ali, or at all events to have considered how much he would become a loser

by the relinquishment of the territory, and arrears of tribute obtained by the treaty of Kurdla. These preliminaries being adjusted, Nana Furnawees returned to Poona, and resumed the duties of prime minister on the 25th November 1796.

The insignia of investiture having been procured from Sattara, Bajirao was at last seated on the Musnad on the 4th December 1796. It was declared by a council of Shastrees, that the relationship between the late Peishwa Madhoorao Narayen and the sons of Raghunathrao, prevented the widow of the former from adopting the second cousin of his father; the adoption was therefore declared illegal, and annulled; the Shastrees who had performed the ceremony were expelled. Chimnajee Appa though he had acted on compulsion, was obliged to undergo some penance to atone for the deed, but he was shortly afterwards appointed by his brother to the Government of Gujarat, which however was merely nominal, the active duties of it being performed by his deputy.

Nana Furnawees was assisted in the ministry by Trimboukrao Pursooree, and Naroopunt Chukurdeo had chief command of the army, which from the late dissensions was in a very disorderly state.

The fort of Ahmednagar and the dependent districts were made over to Sindia as promised, and he was left at liberty to reduce the Jahageer of Pursharam Bhow as he might find opportunity. The articles of agreement with Raghoji Bhonslay were also fulfilled, whereupon he started for Nagpore; but Bajirao refused to ratify the treaty of Mhar concluded with Nizam Ali unless greatly modified, in consequence of which Musheer-ool-Moolk quitted Poona without taking leave of the Peishwa, and returned highly incensed to Hydrabad.

The differences, however, which thus arose, Bajirao was at no pains to adjust; it weakened the confederacy which Nana had formed; and the great

power he so lately combined was still more shaken by the death of Tookajee Holkar on the 15th August 1797. Holkar left two legitimate sons, Khashirao and Mulharao and two by a concubine, Yeshwantrao and Vittoji Khashirao who was imbecile both in body and mind, but Mulharao was in every respect qualified to support the fortunes of his house. Disputes soon arose between the brothers, in which the illegitimate sons took the part of Mulharao, who was secretly favoured by Nana Furnawees. Sindia on being solicited by Khashirao, readily afforded the aid of a body of troops, defeated and killed Mulharao, and kept his son Khunderao in safe custody. The assistance thus rendered by Sindia to a person of such a character as Khasharao, rendered the house of Holkar for a time subservient to that of Sindia, and was a death-blow to the power of Nana Furnawees.

The interference of Sindia in the State affairs of Poona, which Bajirao with a great want of foresight secretly encouraged, soon tended to acts of severity, some of which were of a nature more arbitrary than had ever been practised by the Peishwa's Government; the circumstances particularly alluded to, were the capture of the fort of Colaba, the imprisonment of Mannaji Angria, and the transfer of that principality to Baboorao Angria, Sindia's near relation.

The odium of such a violent and partial proceeding did not attach to Bajirao. His appearance and misfortunes continued to attract sympathy, and the control by which the supposed goodness of his natural disposition was repressed, became matter of general regret. Mr. Malet the acting Resident at Poona, however, seems at this early period to have discovered much of his real character, and it soon appeared that the opinion entertained of Bajirao's goodness and wisdom, was in fact but a proof of his dissimulation and cunning. To trust none and to deceive all was

the game he invariably played, and like all the other who had done so, he never failed to lose. His attention was naturally directed towards becoming independent of Sindia and of Nana Furnawees; he imagined he should soon be able to induce or compel the former to return to Hindoostan, but concluded that the thraldom of the minister would be perpetual. His first object, therefore, was to endeavour to effect the ruin of Nana Furnawees. Amrutrao Govindrao Kallay and some others were privy to the design, but Bajirao's chief instrument was Ghatgay, now distinguished by his family title of Shirzeerao, whose daughter though promised, was not yet given in marriage to Dowlutrao Sindia. No person had more influence with that chieftain, and Bajirao persuaded Shirzeerao, that his views of becoming minister to his future son-in-law, would always be obstructed whilst Nana Furnawees had a vestige of power. It was, therefore, determined to put him into confinement. On the 31st December, 1797, Nana Furnawees after some precaution was induced to return a formal visit of ceremony which Sindia had paid him a few days before, when he was seized by Michael Filoze, the Neapolitan who had accompanied Mahadji Sindia to the Deccan in 1792, and who now commanded eight battalions in the service of Dowlutrao. Filoze had on his word of honour guaranteed the safe return of the old minister to his home, and his perfidious conduct excited just indignation, more particularly amongst the European officers in the service of the Native States—a set of men who though mere soldiers of fortune, had become as distinguished for good faith as for daring enterprise, and their general character had induced Nana to accept Filoze's word in preference to any other pledge he might have obtained. The Mahrattas, however, excused Filoze's treachery by saying that he was entirely ignorant of Sindia's intention to seize Nana—that there was no premedi-

tated deception on his part, and that he was compelled to act as he did by a sudden order accompanied by threats and promises from Shirzeerao, through a person named Meer Assub Ali Wahid.

Abba Sheroolkar, Raghoba Sheroolkar, Nuroopunt Wydh, and several other persons of distinction who accompanied Nana Furnawees, were seized along with him; the rest of his retinue amounting to about one thousand persons were stripped, maimed, some of them killed and the whole dispersed; parties of soldiers were immediately sent to Shirzeerao Ghatgay to plunder, not only the house of Nana, but the houses of all his adherents. Many barricaded their doors and defended themselves from the tops and windows of the houses. The city of Poona appeared like a town taken by storm; the firing continued during the whole night and the ensuing morning; the roads in every direction were stopped; all was uproar, plunder and bloodshed. The alarm was universal, and in the words of a spectator, "friends marched together in groups with shields on their arms and swords in their hands."

At the same time that Nana Furnawees was seized in Sindia's camp, Bajirao on pretence of business, sent for other ministers of that party and confined them. The principal men were Baboorao Phudkay, Appa Bulwant, Naroopunt Chuckerdeo, Naroo Nilkanth Muzzimdar and Govindrao Pingley. Nana Furnawees was sent in close confinement to the fort of Ahmednagar, and Bajirao appointed his brother Amritrao, prime minister, with Govind Kallay and Shewram Narayan as his colleagues; whilst Ballajeepunt Putwardhan, a man of no experience, was raised to the command of the army. Having thus disposed, as he thought of Nana, Bajirao began to devise schemes for ridding himself of Sindia. But in the first instance he found himself compelled to perform his engagements with Sindia and Ghatgay, though he hoped, that in the progress of their fulfilment he

might find the means of completing his schemes. Sindia espoused the beautiful daughter of Ghatgay in the month of March; the marriage expenses were great; and the monthly pay of Sindia's army at Poona was upwards of twenty lacs of rupees. The pecuniary distress soon became extreme, and Sindia was constrained to press Bajirao for the two crores which had been agreed on as the price of his release and elevation. Bajirao pleaded the emptiness of his treasury, but advised him to constitute Ghatgay, his chief minister, and instruct him to levy this sum from the wealthy inhabitants of Poona. The advice was adopted; and the ruffian was let loose on the capital, and, as long as it exists, his name will be remembered with horror and execration. He first proceeded to the palace of Bajirao, where the ex-ministers, of the party of Nana Furnawees, were confined and scourged until they gave up their property. Merchants, bankers and all persons in the city supposed to possess wealth were next seized and tortured till it was surrendered; several of them died in consequence, and Gungadharpunt Bhow one of the relations of Nana Furnawees, expired whilst tied to a heated gun—one of the many modes of torture invented by Shirzeerao Ghatgay.

For many days was Poona given up to plunder and violence described above. Amritrao who was totally ignorant of the existing compact, or that his brother had devised this method of raising money, was exceedingly irritated at the conduct of Ghatgay which he attributed to the malevolence of Sindia, and proposed to his brother the bold scheme of assassinating him, to which Bajirao immediately agreed. About this time strong factions began to prevail in the camp of Sindia, which encouraged Bajirao to hope, that by fomenting the rising disorder, the ministers and army of Sindia might be brought over to his views, or soon be reconciled to the deposal of their master; such being the state of affairs, and

Sindia's unpopularity having become extreme, Amritrao with Bajirao's coguizance prepared Aba Kallay the commander of one of the Peishwa's regular battalions, to be ready to rush in upon an appointed signal and despatch Sindia.

Dowlutrao Sindia was invited on the pretence of business to the Peishwa's palace, but the invitation being declined, a positive order was sent by Bajirao desiring his attendance. He obeyed the summons, and soon after he had sat down, Bajirao upbraided him with the arrogance and cruelty which he and his servants exhibited, and declared that he would no longer endure the contempt shown to his authority, ordering him at the same time peremptorily to depart from the capital. Sindia replied, with the greatest modesty, that he was anxious to obey, but could not remove his camp for want of funds, and solicited payment of the large sum which had been expended in seating Bajirao on the throne. At this moment Amritrao inquired whether he should give the signal to the executioner, but Bajirao's courage failed him, and Sindia was allowed to depart in peace. This was the first occasion on which the Peishwa manifested that irresolution of purpose which marked his character through life, and rendered him an object of general contempt.

We shall now pause to relate the circumstances which led to the liberation of Naroopunt Chuckardeo, Pursharam Bhow and Nana Furnawees. When the army of the Peishwa which was largely in arrears was asked to move to Sattarā in order to get possession of the fort it declined and rose in rebellion ; no person was thought fit to quell it except Naroopunt Chuckardeo. He was, therefore, liberated by the Peishwa, and performed his work satisfactorily. But the army even when it was reconciled to the Peishwa, and led from Poona was unable, owing to the inability of its generals, to take the fort. Pursharam Bhow therefore, asked, and was permitted to

raise an army to take the fort. When he had finished the work successfully, he was asked by the Peishwa to disband his army. But he excused himself on the ground that he was unable to pay its arrears, and protested his fidelity to the Peishwa's government. Bajirao, was therefore recommended to grant him a pardon, on his agreeing to pay a fine of ten lacs of rupees. In the meantime disorder increased at Poona, and Sindia's situation was thus rendered extremely critical; but the danger proceeded from a quarter whence he least expected it.

Mahadjee Sindia, at his death left three widows; one of whom, named Bhagirtheebai, was young and beautiful. Dowlutrao, at the time of his being acknowledged the adopted son and heir of his uncle, promised to make ample provision for these ladies. They accordingly continued to reside in his camp, but no steps were taken to provide for them a permanent establishment, and in a short time some of their ordinary comforts were circumscribed. No complaint appears to have escaped them; but all of a sudden it was discovered, or at all events alleged, by the elder widows, that Sindia carried on a criminal intercourse with the youngest, at which they openly expressed their abhorrence, and declared that they could no longer consider as a son the incestuous defiler of his father's bed. Shirzeerao Ghatgay interposed, the ladies denied him admittance to their presence; but this miscreant having forced the enclosure of their tent, seized, flogged, and barbarously degraded them.

It was at last settled, that the ladies should proceed to Burhanpore, where they were to take up their abode, provided with a suitable establishment and funds for its support. They accordingly departed from Poona, but instead of carrying them to Burhanpore their escort was directed to place them in confinement at Ahmednagar. This treachery being immediately discovered by their adherents in camp,

and had scarcely reached Korygaum, on the Bhima, when Muzuffer Khan, a Patan officer in the interests of the Shenvee Brahmins, suddenly assailed the escort, rescued the ladies, and carried them to the camp of Amritrao who happened to be near the Bhima, on his route to Joonere, and who instantly afforded them protection. Ghatgay-had, in person, pursued the Patan officers who attacked his pursuers, routed them, and returned in triumph to the camp of Amritrao.

It is alleged that Bajirao was the instigator of this revolt; and it is certain that he encouraged the partizans of the ladies to persevere. He said with apparent sincerity, that he considered the protection, which his brother had afforded, as humane and proper; but apprehensive lest it should provoke Sindia and Ghatgay to deeds of violence, he solicited the intervention of Colonel Palmer, the British Resident at his court with Sindia; but this was refused, and the quarrel culminated in an attack on Amritrao by Ghatgay with two brigades of infantry, in which Ghatgay was defeated. An open war between the Peishwa and Sindia was thus supposed to be declared.

Upon this Khasseerao Holkar joined Amritrao; the Mankeries repaired to his standard, and the Peishwa negotiated an offensive alliance with Nizam Ali through his resident envoys then at Poona. The articles agreed to, between Nizam Ali and Nana Furnawees by the treaty of Mhar were to be confirmed by the Peishwa; the Chouth of Beder was to be remitted, and an additional tract of territory yielding eight lacs of rupees, was to be ceded to Nizam Ali in perpetuity, as the price of his assistance against Sindia. Nizam Ali also agreed to support the Peishwa against any future encroachment of the ex-minister Nana Furnawees; but in case of his being liberated by Sindia, it was stipulated that Bajirao should allow him an annual pension of one lac of rupees. Raghojee Bhonslay, if he chose to

accede to it, was to be considered a party to this treaty, and was to receive the whole of Gurrah Mundelah from Bajirao.

Sindia getting alarmed, became very desirous of obtaining that mediation which he had previously rejected from the British Government. Colonel Palmer recommended the dismissal of his present ministers, the settlement of a Jahageer on the ladies, and reparation to the Peishwa by submitting to his authority. Sindia appeared much disposed to follow this advice; but the ladies became so extravagant in their demands that it was impossible to accede to them; and although he was really desirous of returning to Hindoostan, he had no means of discharging any part of the great arrears due to his army.

In order, therefore, to intimidate Bajirao, and to establish an alliance as a counterpoise to that which was just formed between the Nizam and the Peishwa, Sindia sent envoys to Tippoo; but Bajirao by the advice of Govindrao Kallay did the same. A more efficacious way of alarming Bajirao, was the release of Nana Furnawees; by which Sindia also hoped to obtain a sufficient sum to free him from the most urgent of his embarrassment. Nana Furnawees was accordingly brought from Ahmednagar, and two crores of rupees were demanded as the price of his liberty. After some delay, during which Nana endeavoured to throw himself on the protection of the British Government, he at last agreed to pay Sindia ten lacs of rupees, provided he were previously set at liberty, as otherwise whilst under restraint, his agents would comply with no order, even if furnished with a private token from himself. He accordingly obtained his liberty, and the money was promptly paid.

The effect of the enlargement of Nana upon the Peishwa was his revocation of the treaty with the Nizam, and overtures to Sindia and Nana. About the same time, Sindia, grown weary of the

cruelties and enactions of his minister Ghatgay, caused him to be arrested and confined; but he still remained at Poona.

Meanwhile the policy of the English of remaining neutral in the disputes of the native states which was in vogue under Sir John Shone, was reversed by his successor the Earl of Mornington who was desirous of establishing the British as the paramount power in the land, (1798). He wanted to bring about the fall of Tippoo who was under French influence, and to this end, he first formed an alliance with the Nizam, by which the Nizam agreed to receive a subsidiary force of six thousand men together with artillery. He also tried to induce Sindia to proceed to Hindoostan from his known desire to obstruct the influence of the British at the court of Poona.

The reported designs of Zuman Shah, king of Cabul, were strongly set forth by the British agents, in order to induce Sindia to return for the protection of his dominions in Hindoostan; whilst to the Peishwa was offered a body of the Company's troops for the protection of his person and authority, and the revival of the energies of his government.

Bajirao had shortly before made an application to the British of a nature similar to the proposed arrangements, but at that period both their own policy and the operation of the act of Parliament prevented the British Government from complying with his request. The sudden desire now evinced by the English to grant him a subsidiary force, their frequent recommendations to re-instate Nana Furnawees in the Ministry, and to remove Sindia from Poona, led Bajirao, whose views and information were bounded within very narrow limits, to suppose that the whole was a scheme of the detested Nana, the object he most dreaded and therefore uppermost in his mind; aacordingly although Sindia had declared his intention and wish to return to Hindoostan, and a public visit of ceremony announced that a reconciliation had taken

place between Sindia and Nana Furnawees on the one part, and Bajirao on the other, still the Peishwa in a secret conference with Sindia, urged him to stay at Poona for the purpose of preventing the introduction of the English by Nana Furnawees, but he was at the same time doing all in his power to conciliate Nana, and was pressing him to quit Sindia's army for the purpose of resuming the duties of administration. Nana Furnawees accordingly, returned once more to the city of Poona, but declined interfering with the Peishwa's affairs until the safety of his person and property should be guaranteed by the British Government and Nizam Ali, and until he could effect reconciliation in Sindia's family to enable him to return to Hindoostan. To forward the latter object, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation, and in hopes of expediting Sindia's march, advanced him fifteen lacs of rupees from his private treasury in addition to ten lacs previously paid at the time of his liberation. Perceiving that Sindia was really serious in his proposal of returning to Hindoostan, Bajirao intimated his intention of paying Nana Furwees a secret visit and in disguise, so that it might not come to Sindia's knowledge. In the midst of the night attended by a single domestic he repaired to Nana's house, and for the time succeeded in deceiving the old minister into a belief of his being wholly unconcerned in his seizure and disgrace, and that he had confined the other ministers, in the vain hope of affording them protection from the violence and rapacity of Sindia's agents. Colonel Palmer, the British Resident, was of opinion, that Nana was never deceived by him, but the fact is proved by the result: and indeed the eloquence and manners of Bajirao, were so powerful and insinuating that he deceived most men, even when on their guard against him. On this occasion, perceiving the effect of his language on the old man, he laid his head at the feet of Nana Furnawees, swore by those feet to consider

him as his father, to abide by his counsel in all future measures, and finally in a burst of tears, conjured and entreated him not to abandon the Brahmin sovereignty, assailed as it then was by the factions of the Mahrattas and the ambition of the English.

In consequence of this appeal Nana Furnawees resumed the duties of minister without those securities for which he had at first so prudently stipulated; but he had no sooner entered on his duties, than the Peishwa began to plot his destruction, and urged Sindia to place him again in confinement. The minister discovered the intrigue, and repairing to the place, upbraided Bajirao with his unparalleled treachery, and begged him to cease plotting against the liberty and life of an old man, and to allow him to retire into obscurity. The Peishwa protested his innocence, threw the blame on his officers, and persuaded Nana not to quit his post. His suspicions however were not removed, and he avoided all interference in business not absolutely necessary. It was at this time that the Resident brought forward the proposition which he was instructed by Lord Wellesley to make of a subsidiary alliance to liberate the Peishwa from the thraldom of Sindia. It provided that a large British force should be received into the service of the Peishwa, and due arrangements made for their support; that the French should for ever be excluded from his dominions; and that all differences with the Nizam and Sindia should be submitted to the arbitration of the British Government. By this alliance it is true that the Peishwa would have been relieved from the domination of Sindia, but it would only have been a change of collars, the substitution of one which he could never shake off, for another which, however galling, might yet be temporary. The Peishwa, therefore, acting upon the advice of Nana Furnawees evaded the proposal of an alliance, but assured the Resident that he would faithfully observe the engage-

ments of the triple alliance, and at the same time ostensibly ordered Pursharam Bhow to join the British army with his force. At the same time, however, with his usual duplicity, he received two Vakeels at his court from Tippoo, and accepted *o douceur* of thirteen lacs of rupees, unknown to his minister Nana Furnawees. The Mahratta contingent consequently took no part in the campaign. On the contrary, the Peishwa and Sindia concerted a plan for attacking the dominion of the Nizam, while his army and that of his British ally were occupied with the siege of Seringapatam. But before their plans could be matured they were astounded by the intelligence that Tippoo was slain and his power extinguished. Bajirao affected the utmost joy at this intelligence, and soon afterwards endeavoured to persuade Colonel Palmer, that the failure of his engagement was entirely attributable to Nana Furnawees. Notwithstanding the hypocrisy of the Peishwa, however, Colonel Palmer was instructed to inform him, that although he had forfeited all claim to a share of the conquered territory, the Governor-General was prepared to assign to him districts valued at 263,000 pagodas a year, on his consenting to admit the mediation of the British Government on every question in dispute between him and the Nizam, and to exclude the French from his dominions. He replied that he should be happy to accept the territory as a commutation of the chouth to which the Mahrattas were entitled from the whole kingdom of Mysore, but the two conditions he positively rejected. The reserved territory was therefore divided between the company and the Nizam.

Sindia on receiving the intelligence of Tippoo's overthrow, despatched emissaries to Seringapatam for the purpose of encouraging resistance amongst the partisans of the late Sultan who might yet be free, but he also sent congratulations to the English Resident at Poona, expressive of his happiness at the glorious termination of the war.

During this period the affairs of Sindia remained in a very distracted state. After the treacherous attack made by Shirzeerao Ghatgay on Amritrao's camp, the ladies fled to the Raja of Kolhapore who was still at war with the Peishwa. The principal Shenwee Brahmins from Sindia's camp and large bodies of horse flocked to their standard, and when sufficiently strong they returned to the northward, plundering every village from the Krishna to the Godavery which acknowledged the authority of Dowlutrao Sindia. Besides this, in Hindoostan Luckwa Dada who was dismissed by Sindia from his service for his attachment to Balloba Tatia, rose in rebellion and repeatedly defeated the forces sent against him; while in Malwa Jeshwantrao Holkar having fled from confinement to which he had been consigned by Sindia at Nagpore, led plundering expeditions. At such a critical juncture Sindia had again recourse to negotiation with the ladies, but the extent of the ladies' demands reached nothing short of complete sovereignty, which they required Sindia to hold under their authority. But before these conditions could be admitted they insisted on the release of Balloba Tatia.

Balloba was accordingly released, the insurrection nearly subsided, and the ladies agreed to an adjustment through Balloba's mediation;- and the fort of Asseerghur with the city of Burhanpore along with a Jahagheer of eleven lacs of rupees was to be assigned to them. Every difference was on the point of being settled. The ladies had received their clothes, jewels and other private property from Sindia's camp, and had proceeded as far as Rajawaree near Jejoori on their way to Poona, when intelligence reached them of one of their partizans having been attacked and cut off; they therefore immediately retreated towards Pundharpore, and recommenced their system of depredation.

The whole of the southern Mahratta country was in great disorder. The Rajah of Kolhapore still wag-

ed war against the Peishwa, and the reinforcement brought by Chitoor Singh after the defeat of the Raja of Satara gave fresh spirit to their efforts. Chitoor Singh had been closely pursued into the Kolhapore territory by a body of Rastia's troops joined by some others on the part of the Pritee Nidhee. But notwithstanding the superior force of his enemies and his frequent defeats, he at the head of a very inferior force and with no funds to support it, succeeded to keep seven thousand of Rastia's troops in perpetual motion between the Neera and the Warna. His enterprise, his remarkable escapes, his conciliatory manners, the popularity of his cause amongst the Mahrattas, and his confidence in the peasantry, rendered him everywhere a favourite, notwithstanding his having repeatedly laid the whole of the villages under contribution.

Chitoor Singh's insurrection was considered at Poona as a part of the Kolhapore war, and both the Peishwa and Nana Furnawees had their share of the blame arising therefrom.

During the insurrection of Satara and subsequent to it, whilst Chitoor Singh kept Rastia in check to the north of the Warna, the Raja of Kolhapore was actively engaged against the Putwardhans and Dhondoopunt Gokhla. Tasgaum, the capital of Pursharam Bhow's Jahageer was pillaged, and his palace which had been erected at great expense was burnt to the ground. The Carnatic was laid under contribution, and Dhondoopunt Gokhla, although a brave and active officer, was repeatedly defeated. Such was the state of the Kolhapore warfare up to the period at which we have arrived. In the month of August after Balloba Tatia's release, and a reconciliation having taken place between him and Nana Furnawees, they deliberated, with the knowledge and approbation of their superiors, on the course of policy necessary to be pursued with regard to Nizam Ali and the English; but both concurred in the neces-

sity of suppressing the formidable disturbance to the southward, as a preliminary to any other arrangement. It was accordingly resolved that the force previously intended by Nana Furnawees to have co-operated with the allies against Tippoo, should be sent under Pursharam Bhow, considerably reinforced, on the present service. The whole force to be furnished in proportions by the Peishwa and by Sindia and other Jahageerdars, was to consist of thirty thousand horse and six thousand infantry; but as it was impracticable to prepare this force till the Dussera, Pursharam Bhow was desired to watch the Raja of Kolhapore, and restrain him as much as possible. Pursharam Bhow, whose military spirit was on this occasion excited by personal injury and revenge, although his health was in a declining state, kept the field all the rains, and recovered the garrisons between the rivers Galpurba and Malpurba.

In the month of September he marched from Gokak towards Kolhapore, not without hopes of putting a finish to the war himself; but near the village of Putunkoondi, he encountered the Raja of Kolhapore and Chitoor Singh, when he experienced a total defeat, and was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner. Wishwasrao, the brother of Shirzeerao Ghatgay, took up the dying man, and laying him across his horse, threw him down before the Raja of Kolhapore, who ordered him, it is said, in this state to be cut to pieces. Dajiba Limaye who was in this action, and who was Pursharam Bhow's confidential agent, states this circumstance; and Bajirao in a private conversation with Mr. Elphinstone at Pundharpore in 1812, mentioned it as a well known fact, but it is not generally allowed either at Kolhapore or Satara, although at these two places the Raja of Kolhapore had many enemies.

Nana Furnawees and Balloba sent the troops of the Vinchurkar, the Pritee Nidhee, and five of Sindia's regular battalions under Major Brownrigg, to

support Appa Saheb, Pursharam Bhow's son, and reduce the Raja to submission. This accession of force was too much for the Raja to withstand, and he therefore retired under the protection of the fort of Panalla, but in that situation his troops were surprised by Appa Saheb, who drove some of them into the fort, whilst the greater part sought refuge in Kolhapore which the Peishwa's troops immediately invested. After a considerable time had been spent in the seige the place was nearly reduced, when events occurred at Poona which conduced to save the Kolhapore State, which in all probability would otherwise have been subverted, or at least held in future as a dependency of the Peishwa's government.

The first of the events alluded to in point of time and importance with which alone we are concerned in this narrative, was the death of Nana Furnawees. His health had long been in a declining state, but he continued to transact business almost to the last with his accustomed order and punctuality. He died on March 13th 1800, at Poona "and with him" says Colonel Palmer, "has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." Nana Furnawees was certainly a great statesman; his principal defects originated in his want of courage, and in ambition not always restrained by principle. During the latter unhappy years of his life, on the testimony of both English and Mahratta authority, he is entitled to the highest praise of having acted with the feelings and sincerity of a patriot. He honourably advised Bajirao to such measures as he believed to be advantageous, unmindful of any consequences to himself. He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops in the manner proposed by the Marquis of Wellesley, if the energies of government could in any possible way be restored without it. He respected the English, admired their sincerity of character and the vigour of their government, but as political enemies no one regarded

them with more jealousy and alarm. He had the wisdom to perceive the overpowering influence which the English must eventually obtain should they be permitted the footing desired by the Governor-General, and it was his constant endeavour to restrain the rise of their Power.

The life of Nana may be said to have been entirely public, and its events have been so fully recorded as well as the motives for his conduct, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on his character. In private life he was a man of strict veracity, humane, charitable and frugal, his whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility.

In regard to civil government, whilst he continued in power, he endeavoured to preserve the system of Madhoorao Bullal, but overwhelming business, and the frequent distractions which prevailed, produced great laxity in superintendence.

In person Nana was tall and thin, his complexion was rather dark and his demeanour grave ; but his look intelligent, quick and penetrating.

Nana died without issue although he had been married to no less than nine wives. At the time of his death, his widow (last wife) Jewbai was at Seeder Tank, a village about thirty miles from Poona. Bajirao being anxious to secure possession of both the widow as well as Nana's treasure, which was generally reported to be immense, immediately sent a party of troops to bring her to Poona, and after considerable resistance from a party of about two thousand Arabs whom Nana had retained in his service, in which many of the Peishwa's troops were slain, an arrangement was concluded, by which the Arabs were allowed to proceed to Cambay in Gujarat, while the widow remained in Bajirao's custody, until on Jeshwantrao Holkar's approach, he was compelled to fly from Poona. Holkar treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration as long as he remained

there, but on Amritrao's coming to Poona the widow did not feel herself secure on account of his ancient enmity towards Nana; she therefore fled for refuge to the fort of Soghur, the killidar of which, Dhondoo Bullal was a staunch dependent of Nana. By him she was protected until the year 1804, when General Wellesley who had been invested with full political powers for the affairs of the Deccan on the part of the Peishwa, made a treaty with Dhondoo Bullal by which the fort of Soghur was to be evacuated, and Nana's widow was to be allowed to settle wherever she wished in any part of the Peishwa's dominions, under the guarantee of the British Government, and a pension of rupees twelve thousand annually was to be conferred upon her. Dhondoo Bullal was anxious that she should fix upon Cullal opposite to Thanna in Salsette as her place of residence, but an objection to this arrangement arose owing to the few Brahmin families resident there. Punwell was therefore the station fixed upon. She resided there for a period of about sixteen years, when she obtained permission to proceed to Manowlee, a temple near Wace, where she spent her life.

In 1827 she obtained permission from the English Government to adopt a son, which she had long sought for from the Peishwa, who at first had pretended to accede to her request but had managed in various ways to delay giving his final consent. Her choice fell upon Mahadjee Bulhar, son of Ramkrishna Bhanu. He was married in 1830 to Rummabai, daughter of Keshowrao Patwardhan a Jahageerdar of Purandhar, with whom he received a dowry of twenty-five thousand rupees in cash and a village yielding an annual revenue of about one thousand rupees, but it seems she (Rummabai) died without issue.

Laus Deo Semper.

FINIS.

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